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THE

HISTORY

OF

E G Y P T; oo

FROM

THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS OF THAT COUNTRY,

TILL THE

EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH FROM ALEXANDRIA,

IN THE YEAR 1801.

By JAMES WILSON, D.D.

Minister of Falkirk.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Volume 1.

*Wilson
The History
of Egypt*

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & CO. EDINBURGH; AND
LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME, LONDON.

1805.

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OF THE

Egypt

AND

THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS OF THAT COUNTRY

BY JAMES WILSON, D.D.

THE

EXPLANATION OF THE REMAINS FROM ALEXANDRIA

AND OF THE TEMPLES AND MONUMENTS

BY JAMES WILSON, D.D.

CHAPMAN AND HALL, 15, N. Y.

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Bibliothek
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IN THREE VOLUMES

THE FIRST VOLUME

THE SECOND VOLUME

THE THIRD VOLUME

THE FOURTH VOLUME

THE FIFTH VOLUME

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & CO. EDINBURGH, AND

LONGMAN, REES, GREEN, AND CO. LONDON.

1852.

To the
Honourable GEORGE ABERCROMBY
of Tullibody,
and Member of Parliament for the City of
Edinburgh.

SIR,

IF your father, SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY, had now been in life, this History of Egypt would have been laid at his feet, as a mark of respect for his character, and a testimony of approbation with regard to his conduct. It was the high interest, which that country has, for several years excited in Europe, that first suggested to me the idea of composing this work; and it is the success of that important expedition, in which he bore so illustrious a part, which renders the circumstances and events of Egypt, so peculiarly dear to the Empire of Great Britain.

To you, therefore, as the heir and successor of that distinguished hero, who landed the troops of his native country upon the shore of Abukir ; and who lost his life, as he was conducting them in triumph along the peninsula, I dedicate with all humility and respect these historical volumes, which I now venture to offer to the notice and judgment of the world.

MAY the happiness, which you enjoy in being the son of such a father, induce you to continue and cultivate those pursuits, which will promote the interests of your country, and confer blessings upon yourself. May those high honours, which he earned in the paths of patriotism and virtue, descend with increasing graces upon many successive generations of his house ; and if you shall come to

the full possession of your family titles,^a
 may you never fail to recollect the valuable conduct, which obtained and secured them to the lineal heirs of your respected father ; and I have the honour of being,

SIR,

Your most obedient, and

Very humble servant,

Falkirk,
 May 8, 1805.

J. WILSON.

^a The titles do not descend to the heir while Lady Abercromby is in life.

the full possession of your family titles,
may you never fail to recollect the vi-
lible conduct, which obtained and se-
cured them to the liberal heirs of your
respected father, and I have the honor
of being,

Sir,

Your most obedient, and
affectionate son,
J. WILSON.
MAY 18, 1807.

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The first of the following is a copy of the
original, and the second is a copy of the
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PREFACE.

I AM now ready to present to the Public the History of Egypt; and in approaching so respectable a tribunal, I am impressed with awe, and filled with uneasy apprehensions. But while thus I stand amid those fearful anxieties, which are inseparable from my situation, I am not without hope, that what I have written may amuse, and perhaps instruct. It would be insulting the world to solicit its attention to a performance, which the author did not consider, as in some degree worthy of notice.

The objects of this history are highly deserving of regard ; but I am not without fear, that I have been unable to place such interesting events in a point of view, sufficiently conspicuous and impressive. The reader, however, will easily conceive what difficulties I had to encounter, in traversing that wide extent of inquiry, over which I was unavoidably compelled to travel.

It was no easy task to separate fable from the early part of this work, and yet endeavour to preserve what was valuable and true. The direct track of history was lost and obliterated when Egypt became a province of Rome; and for a space of more than seventeen hundred years, its records are chiefly to be found in scattered fragments, among the annals of the caliphs, and the less direct

memorials of those proud states, under whose tyranny it groaned.

Great have been my obligations to those acquaintance and friends, who rendered such essential services in furnishing me with a valuable supply of books. Besides the usual resource of private collections, I had access to the library belonging to the Faculty of Advocates, to those in the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and to the very extensive one of William Morehead, Esquire, of Herbertshire, in the county of Stirling.

With these observations, I commit my labours to the decision of the world; and wait with patience for that sentence which is to be pronounced. If it be unfavourable, I shall give way in silence to the feelings of disappointment; but

if encouraged by a generous approbation, I will cheerfully endeavour to render a future edition still more worthy of general acceptance and public esteem.

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HISTORY
OF
E G Y P T.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The situation and extent of Egypt. . . . The Nile. . . . The climate. . . . The fertility of the country. . . . The ancient inhabitants. . . . Of Thebes and Memphis. . . . The Delta. . . . Of hieroglyphics, and the progress in the art of writing.

THE history of Egypt is marked by lines of deep interest and high importance. It is a country where the rays of science early beamed, and to which men of inquiry resorted for light and knowledge; but the cloud of ignorance progressively advanced, and the country has long mourned in darkness and oppression. To survey this king-

dom, is to behold a landscape bold, diversified, and striking. It shews human nature struggling among the awful destinies of fortune ; it contrasts light and shade ; it exhibits the glory of empires, and the overthrow of nations.

Nowhere can we find lessons of wisdom more distinctly written, nor better fitted to repress ambition, to humble pride, and to teach us how weak and how wicked men may become. Here we have a mirror, which awfully displays to our view the varying aspects of time ; and enables us to trace through many windings those combined events, which raise up or cast down, which confer dignity, or humble in the dust.

The early history of Egypt reaches so far back into the annals of time that we can scarcely discover its general form. Though deriving light from collateral objects, its principal parts are but obscurely seen, and the rest of them are left completely in the shade. Before the era of letters and learning, the annals

of nations had no record but traditional tales; therefore they must often have been misconceived, and frequently disguised in fable. Incorrectness of recitation, and changes by the lapse of time, throw obscurity and doubt around every early opinion and ancient deed. Though early a nation of science, Egypt appears to have been peculiarly unfortunate in its records; for, till a period, comparatively late, no historian arranged the mass of long accumulated materials, nor caught in order the passing events and transactions of the day.

Herodotus flourished little more than 400 years before the appearance of Christ; Diodorus Siculus was in the height of his pursuits about 40 years before the Christian era; and Strabo did not die till several years after the birth of Christ. As to Plutarch, he lived till towards the middle of the second century. The history of Egypt, which was written by Manetho, about 300 years before Christ, was professedly compos-

ed from the writings of Hermes, and historical journals, which were kept in the temples of Egypt. This author displays considerable moderation and wisdom, but a few fragments of his history are all which remain; and the authenticity of the sources from which he drew his information cannot now be fully ascertained. When Cambyses took and pillaged Egypt, he carried away the best of its records, and left historians to seek for past truths among the multitude of varying traditions.

Egypt reaches from about the $31^{\circ} 22'$ to the $23^{\circ} 45'$ of north latitude, and Grand Cairo, its present capital, is in $31^{\circ} 16'$ of longitude east from Greenwich. It is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean sea; on the east by the isthmus of Suez and the Arabian gulf; on the south by Nubia, or a part of ancient Ethiopia; and on the west by Lybia, or the desert of Barca, which includes the ancient Marmorica and the kingdom of Cyrene. From the Medi-

terranean to Syene, or Assuan as it is now called, there is a distance of about 500 miles, and the breadth, upon an average, including the greater and less Oasis, may be estimated at 250.^a A considerable part of the country upon the north is low, level, and some of it marshy. That district which is bounded by the branches of the Nile is somewhat in shape like the fourth letter of the Greek alphabet, and is therefore denominated the Delta.^b This portion of Egypt, and the vale through which the Nile runs, in the upper part of the country, are verdant and fruitful; but excepting these and casual spots, where moisture is found, the rest of Egypt is full of barren mountains and burning sands.

It boasts of only one river, and that is the Nile, whose source, whose waters, and whose effects, have excited the wonder of the ignorant, given scope

^a Pinkerton's Geog. title Egypt.

^b Plin. Nat. hist. lib. 5, c. 10, et in notis.

to the inquiries of the learned; and commanded, by its benefits, the gratitude of nations. Its streams begin to flow at an immense distance, in the interior of Africa, and derive their source from different regions. The Gebel Al Comri, or Mountains of the Moon, are placed between the 7° and 8° of north latitude. In the district of Douga, toward the north east of that extensive range, burst forth some abundant springs, which soon swell to a considerable size, and receive the name of Baher al Abiad, or the White river. In the province of Geesh, latitude $10^{\circ} 59' 25''$, and east longitude $36^{\circ} 55' 30''$, commences the Baher al Azrek, or Blue river. About north latitude 16° these two rivers unite their streams, and roll toward Egypt, by different names; but universally known to us by the appellation of the Nile.*

Ancient writers pointed to Abyssinia for the source of the Nile, and Mr. Bruce

* Bruce's Travels, quarto, vol. iv, p. 539; Park's Travels, note, p. 78; Pink. Geog. vol. 2, quarto, p. 716; and Brown's Travels, appen. No. 2. p. 473.

was directed from Gondar to the district of Geesh, where he discovered the fountains from which the Blue river takes its rise. Time and future inquiries may determine a point which is now in dispute, and may confirm to Mr. Bruce that honour to which he anxiously aspired, of having traced and discovered the source of the Nile. By perseverance, courage, and good fortune, he surmounted difficulties, braved dangers, and accomplished travels, which exceeded so far those of his predecessors, that he was exposed to rash suspicions, and ungenerously accused. But the wonderful exertions which have distinguished the conduct of those travellers, who were lately exploring the interior of Africa, have accustomed us to hear strange, but well authenticated, tales; and enabled us to comprehend what zeal, abilities, and courage, can perform. Moreover, some of Mr. Bruce's most uncommon observations have been verified by other travellers; and it may

yet appear, that the fountains of Geesh are the source of the Nile.^a

It is undeniably certain, that the White river, which rises in the mountains of Comri, runs a longer course, and rolls a much larger stream, than the Baher al Azrek ; but we cannot thence adduce a proof that the former directs us to the genuine source of the Nile. Many instances might be recorded, where rivers derive their name and their reputed head from the less of those principal streams which form their accumulated waters. The word Nile, which, in some of the dialects of Africa, means a great river, may be applied either to the Baher al Abiad, or the Baher al Azrek ; but in the Sanscrit, which is allied to many languages in the east, the appellation may be interpreted blue ; and, therefore, the Blue river and the Nile are synonymous terms. But these observations are rather offered, as reasons for

^a Discoveries in Africa, p. 435, 436. Preface to Brown's Travels, and his Travels, p. 181.

modesty and forbearance, than as a presumptuous attempt to decide upon a difficult subject, which defies speculation in the closet, and can only be determined by future travels and judicious observations.^a

Following the streams which constitute the Nile, from the Gebel al Comri, till they are mixed with the waters of the Mediterranean sea, we may measure a tract of 2000 British miles; and the direct line may be estimated at 1500, and yet there are many rivers which roll in their common course a greater body of water. The Nile passes through regions of the torrid zone, where rains descend but at stated seasons; and it winds part of its way through countries which are parched with perpetual drought; and, therefore, in proportion to the extent of its race, the common bulk of the river is but small. Its breadth seldom exceeds the third part of

^a Park's Travels, appendix; and Afiat. resear. vol. 1, p. 211.

a mile, and its greatest depth is scarcely 12 feet. When it enters Egypt at Asuan, the extent of the valley is little more than sufficient to receive the waters of the river ; but as you pass downward it varies in width, and sometimes expands to more than 20 miles. As you approach Grand Cairo, the Delta opens to view, and displays a vast expanse, where the Nile is divided, and waters the plain. Descending from a high country, this river forms many rapids and cataracts, but the largest fall is in Nubia, latitude 22° ; and during its course through Egypt, its movement is more regular ; and the greater part of it is navigable by boats, of a particular form.

The annual overflowing of the Nile was a subject, in early times, of astonishment and fanciful conjecture, but now it is sufficiently ascertained that the periodical swellings of this, as well as of the Ganges, the Niger, and all other rivers connected with the monsoons, are

occasioned by the excessive rains which, in tropical countries, continue to fall for months in succession. As the Andes, under the equator, have their tops perpetually covered with snow, so the high mountains, in the interior of Africa, may increase the inundation of the rivers by the influence of the rainy season melting snow on their lofty summits. In Abyssinia the rains begin in April, and for some time after their commencement, the water is mostly absorbed by the dry and thirsty soil; but toward the end of April, even in Egypt itself, the Nile becomes muddy, though it is not till after the middle of June, that the river defies its banks, and diffuses its waters over the plains of the Delta.

The general course of the Nile, after it passes Sennar, is from south to north, rather inclining toward the west; and thus the Red sea and the Nile are nearly parallel to each other, for an extent

of about 7° of north latitude.^a In Upper Egypt there is high land on both sides of the river, but that on the east is more mountainous, and its bold risings sometimes approach the streams of the Nile: the mountains on the Arabian side of the river continue their elevation toward the Red sea, and, skirting the Delta, are terminated toward the isthmus of Suez. The mountains on the west of the Nile are not so high; and toward Alexandria are lost in the Lybian deserts. The rocks on both sides consist of sand and calcareous stones: the latter are intermixed with a variety of shells; and there are also rocks of granite and quarries of marble; but the granite and marble are chiefly found in the eastern and upper parts of the country, though a stratum of the former probably crosses in a diagonal direction toward the Red sea; for stones of a similar description appear on the abrupt sides

^a Park's Travels, Appendix, p. 53, &c.; and Brown's Travels, ch. 3.

of Mount Sinai, on the opposite side of the Arabian gulf. In various parts of Egypt are found pebbles, and many varieties of the silicious kind.^b

It has been conjectured, that the Mediterranean and Red seas once communicated where the isthmus of Suez now is, but as the waters were shallow, and the place perhaps occasionally dry, it was gradually filled up by the sands of the opposing currents, and those which were blown from the desert. When these seas were connected, and when the Delta was a marsh, it is not improbable that a current of water ran at certain seasons towards the Arabian gulf, along that hollow which is now denominated the valley of Badeah and entered the Red sea by Phihahiroth, that is, the pass or mouth of Hiroth.

Thither the children of Israel directed their course when they fled from the face of Pharoah. Their forefathers went

^b Volney, tom. i, ch. i; and Sonnini, 4to, ch. 26, & 53.

down to Egypt, under the sunshine and favour of Joseph, who was great in the house of the king ; but, in the revolutions of years, there rose up other Pharaohs who knew not Joseph, and who did not regard the descendants of the patriarch's house. Living in a district of the country allotted to themselves, and maintaining in some degree the peculiarities of their own nation, the people of Israel were then treated as foreigners, and exposed, as strangers frequently were in the despotic countries of the east, to severe labour and cruel bondage.

After they had sojourned in Egypt for the space of 430 years, the cry of their affliction was heard, and by judgments and signal displays of Divine power, they were permitted to depart into the wilderness for a season, where they might offer up to the Lord those animal sacrifices which the laws and practice of the country forbid them to do in Egypt. But under the direction of Moses, they embraced that opportunity of fleeing

from the land of Pharaoh. They did not go by the borders of the Mediterranean sea, through Gaza and Joppa, because in those districts they would, while unprepared, have been exposed among powerful nations to that determined opposition which their numbers, and suspicious circumstances, would certainly have produced. They avoided that track which leads directly to Suez, and travelled further to the right.

They expected to be pursued by Pharaoh, as soon as he should discover their flight; and they might hope to elude his pursuit more easily by passing through the defile of Pihahiroth, and might entertain a hope to find a way of concealing themselves among the mountains on the right, or of getting across the Heropolitic branch of the Arabic gulf. But the road which they chose was likely to have been the cause of destruction and not of safety.

The multitudes of Pharaoh did pursue them; and when they drew nigh,

the children of Israel were confined, on the one hand, by the continuation of the mountains of the Thebaid, and on the other, by those of Suez. Behind them were the hosts of Egypt, and before them the Red sea. Some are of opinion, that in this condition of fear and distress, a way was on a sudden miraculously opened to them across the western branch of the Red sea, which, in that situation, is about nine miles broad : but there are others who suppose, that, in their flight before the horsemen and chariots of Pharaoh, they hastily turned to the left, along the shore of the sea, passed the mountain Al Takah, and crossed the sea at that point of land on the opposite side, near those wells which are still called the fountains of Moses, while the returning waters overwhelmed the Egyptians, who were pursuing them.^c

^c Exodus, 7, 8, &c. ; Berthier's Memoir, p. 59 ; Shaw's Travels, p. 346, &c. ; and Pocock's Observations on Egypt, folio, London, A. D. 1743, p. 155, &c.

In Egypt the weather is always warm, for even in the Delta, the mercury, in Fahrenheit's thermometer, rises in the shade to 86 or 88 degrees. In Alsaïd or Upper Egypt the heat is more intense; and at no period of the year does the thermometer, in any part of the country, indicate a lower degree than 50 or 52. This high temperature of the air is occasioned by various combining causes. The situation which Egypt holds upon the face of the globe necessarily constitutes a sultry climate, but the temperature is increased by the want of rain, and the reflection of the sand on the arid deserts. The heat is further augmented by the distance of the ocean, which can yield it no fanning breezes, and by the want of high mountains, which even in the torrid zone cool the air, and moderate the climate. Abundance of dews diffuse their beneficial influence over Egypt; but if we except the occasional showers which fall about Alexandria, and near the coast of the Mediterranean

sea, scarcely a drop descends throughout all its vast extent.

In Upper Egypt, even a slight shower of rain is received with joy, and marked among the rare occurrences of nature. On each side of the equator, for about the distance of 30° , the wind blows for about six months in one direction, and for as long a period in another, though in some regions, as in the Indian and Pacific oceans, we meet with currents which rush continually from the same quarter. The former are denominated the monsoons, and the latter the trade winds. Beyond these limits, on either side of the tropics, the currents are variable, and the weather inconstant. Between the tropics the rains follow the course of the sun, though in some situations they are found to vary from this general law. Thus, in Sennar, the rains proceed no further north than the 14° of north latitude; at Gerri they reach the 16° , and in other places they extend to the tropic of Cancer. The

heat of the sun appears to be the primary agent in producing the currents of wind, and the air rushes in toward the equator to find its level in the rarified space. Thus the monsoons and trade winds have their regular course, but without the influence of their sphere, it has already appeared that the currents are changeable, and in the temperate and frigid zones, the winds are often changing their direction.*

The tendency of the air to fill up the rarified space, between the tropics, not only produces the monsoons and trade-winds, but also assists us to offer a reason for the deficiency of rain in the districts of Egypt. Being mostly within the extent, and altogether within the influence of the northern monsoons, the clouds of that quarter are hurried toward the equator, from April to October, and being carried both rapidly and high, none of them descend on Egypt,

* Herodotus, fol. Lugduni Batavorum, A. D. 1715, lib. 3, c. 10; and Bruce's Travels, 4to, p. 661, &c.

nor let fall on its surface any part of their burthen; but leaving it unvisited and dry, they hasten to the mountains of Abyssinia, and there they deposit their watry stores. The heated and rarified air between the tropics necessarily ascends into the higher regions of the sky; and, yielding to the thicker atmosphere, by which it is displaced, it returns toward the northern mountains to be re-loaded with fresh vapours, and to proceed again, in a lower direction, toward the equator.

Similar arrangements are observable beyond the bounds of the southern tropic, and thus, from the cooler regions on either side of the equator, the monsoons carry clouds with a supply of water into the torrid zone. While the sun is on the northern side of the equatorial line, the northern monsoons blow, and the waters descend; while the sun is on the southern part of the equatorial line, the southern monsoons blow, and that part of the torrid zone is drenched with

rain. The trade winds, which blow constantly from one point, are supposed to be streams of air, which rush constantly into that part, which is rarified by the beams of the vertical sun.

Beyond the influence of the tropics, and without the range of the monsoons, the air is directed in currents, by a variety of known as well as undefined causes. Mountains and seas, hills and valleys, have all their influence in producing currents and changing the direction of the wind. When the atmosphere is balanced, and the air is calm, partial and different rarefactions produce a tendency to contrary currents. When a considerable rarefaction happens, by any of the operations of nature, the air rushes in from every surrounding point, and being not only elastic, but having acquired an accelerated velocity in its course, it continues to be accumulated at the point of meeting, till new circumstances change its course, and alter the direction of the wind. Thus, in the

temperate zones, there is such a diversity of weather, and the clouds which are carried about, produce irregular periods of rain.

The currents of air are affected by the regions over which they pass; and in our own country, the easterly winds are impregnated with vapours, which affect the health and injure the weak. In arid and sultry regions the whole elements are violent in their operation; and there is occasionally experienced a hot and suffocating wind, which excites terror and spreads desolation. It is known by the names of the Sumiel, the Simoom, the Chamsin, or the poisonous wind of the desert. It is felt in Arabia, India, Africa, and Syria. It even reaches Italy, where it is called the Sirocco, but is always severe and destructive in proportion to the heat of the country, and the extent of the parched desert, over which it sweeps.

Its approach is announced by a lowering sky, troubled sun, and sometimes a

hissing noise. To avoid its effects the people flee to their houses or tents, and if it overtake them in a place where habitations cannot be found, they apply their handkerchief or garment to the mouth and the nose; or, in imitation of the camel, thrust them in the sand. It is felt somewhat like the heat of a newly opened oven; and if it continue long, its violence and effects are almost unsupportable. In every situation it hardens the skin, destroys the vegetable growth, and spreads destruction within the sphere of its influence; scarcely can man or beast breathe: and this effect, as well as its fatal consequences, proceed not only from the rarified nature of the air, which cannot sufficiently expand the lungs, but also from its pernicious quality, which produces convulsions and frequently death.

The fertility of Egypt was celebrated of old, and thither, in a time of famine, Abraham retired; and there too, at a future period, the children of Jacob ap-

peared to buy corn for themselves and their families.^a With very little culture it abundantly produced rice, wheat, barley, and pulse, together with a variety of other vegetables fit for food. The sycamore, the fig, and the palm tree, grow in abundance, and produce their delightful shades. So beautiful and so flourishing was Egypt, that in the poetical language of the scriptures, it is sublimely described as *the garden of God*.^b Their seed time begins in the latter end of October, and their harvest is ready in the month of March. What a contrast appears between the fertility of the Delta and the barren sands of the Lybian desert? what an opposition in aspect, between the verdant valley of the Nile, and the unproductive deserts of Upper Egypt. Thus we must confine our ideas of fertility, in that astonishing country, to the banks of the Nile, and the plains of the Delta. But even in this restrict-

^a Gen. ch. xii. v. 10. & ch. xlii. v. 1.

^b Gen. 13 & 10.

ed sense, we are naturally led to inquire, how this productive quality and high luxuriance exist in a climate, where perpetual drought reigns, and where burning sands predominate.

The whole of its productive powers are owing to the black mould, which the waters have lodged, and the inundations of the Nile, which overflow the land. In practicable situations, where the natural overflowing cannot reach, the waters are raised by art, and thrown into tanks, or reservoirs, for watering the fields by artificial streams. An account of the present state of Egypt must be reserved for the concluding part of this history; but directing the inundations of the Nile, and irrigating the fields by art, were ancient and important measures, which the Egyptians pursued. The abundance, and consequent scarcity, which Joseph predicted, and which brought him into notice at the court of Pharaoh, were probably occasioned by the diversified circumstances of the Nile,

which produced seven years of plenty succeeded by seven of famine; and early do we find, that means were employed to ascertain the height and risings of the river.

In allusion to watering the fields by artificial streams, the land of Canaan, in contrast with that of Egypt, was described to the children of Israel in glowing terms of comparative excellence. Encouraging their hopes toward the land of promise, its attractive qualities are thus narrated:—*‘The land whither thou goest
‘ in to possess it, is not as the land of
‘ Egypt, from whence ye came out; where
‘ thou sowedst thy seed, and didst water it
‘ with the foot, as a garden of herbs; but
‘ the land whither ye go to possess it, is a
‘ land of hills and vallies, and drinketh
‘ water of the rain of heaven; a land
‘ which the Lord thy God careth for—his
‘ eyes are always upon it, from the begin-
‘ ning even until the end of the year.’^a*

^a Deut. ch. xi. v. 10. 11. & 12.

In Judea and similar situations, rains do not fall so frequently as in those countries where we are more intimately connected. From April till autumn, which is the rainy season in the northern part of the torrid zone, scarcely a shower falls in Judea ; but when rain does happen in that particular period, it descends in torrents, more frequently in the night time, and is ascribed to the influence of thunder. If the electric spark converts into water a mixture of oxygenous and hydrogenous gas, may not a similar process be prevalent in the air, when clouds and rain are suddenly produced? When thunder rolls, dark clouds are instantly engendered ; and, if the distance be not too great, we are instantly deluged by a torrent of rain. Such, probably, were the circumstances of that *cloud*, in size *like a man's hand*, from which Elijah foretold the speedy and abundant descent of rain.^a

^a 1 Kings, ch. 18. v. 44.

At that time the land of Israel had been three whole years without rain, and such circumstances do still occasionally recur in the east, when, according to the bold language of description, there is neither rain nor dew to moisten the earth.^a If thunder in our regular climate be generally attended by sudden and considerable rains, we are not to be surprised at the more striking, but similar appearances, which occur in the warmer regions of the world. There, as we have observed, excessive rains are often indicated by the sudden appearance of black clouds; and, upon this unerring signal, Ahab king of Samaria was admonished to descend in haste with his chariot, that he might not be stopped by an excess of rain. It was thus that *the stars in their courses fought against Sisera*, when a rapid swelling of the brook Kishon swept away the enemies of Israel,^b and such sudden tor-

^a Harmer's Observations, London, 1776, vol. iii, Specimens, p. 30; and 2 Kings, ch. 17. v. 1.

^b Bruce vol. iii, p. 669; and Judges chap. 4. & 5.

rents, though not common, do sometimes occur even in the temperate districts of the world. The rains in Judea, therefore, are in some degree periodical, and those which fall in October and November, are, in scripture, denominated the former rains, because they succeed the season of drought, and prepare the soil for receiving the plough; while those that descend in April are denominated the latter rains; because they immediately precede the season of drought, and enable the corn, which is then only in the ear, to exert its strength, and push forward to the harvest.^a

Many difficulties have occurred with respect to the origin of nations; and who were the original people of Egypt, has also been a subject of inquiry and diversified discussion. I am not to enter into the consideration of the philosophical opinions which have been

^a Harmer's Observations, vol. ii, p. 33. &c. and vol. iii, p. 1. & 3. and the Specimens, vol. iii, p. 30.

suggested and maintained concerning the different features, colour, and distinguishing appearances, of the human race. But incidental customs, the affinity of languages, and the birth-place of science, lead us into the east for the cradle of man, and the earliest place of his abode.

In referring all nations of the world to one common source, the lines of their migration may be traced back to the banks of the Euphrates or the Persian Irac. The ancient Persians and Indians, the Egyptians and Ethiopians, the Romans, the Greeks, and the Goths, appear to have descended from Ham a son of Noah. The original inhabitants of Greece were probably the children of Japhet, another of his sons, but the Greeks, properly so called, who emigrated from Syria, or Egypt, stiled the ancient people of Greece barbarians, and drove them out. It is suggested, from various hints and records, that Cush, a son of Ham, went into Ethiopia, Mizraim into Egypt, and Raamah,

the grandson of Ham, into India. The Jews and the Arabs, the Assyrians and the second race of Persians, appear to have sprung from Shem, and the Tartars,^b with all their diversified nations, may be referred to Japheth, the third son of Noah. The original Chinese, as well as the inhabitants of Japan, are described as of Indian extraction, and the people of the South-sea islands speak a language which proves their origin to have been from the east. In South America, upon the discovery of that country by Columbus, their symbolical method of computation pronounced their original connection with the nations of India. The northern parts of America may have been peopled from the north of Europe, and scalping, which was practised in the former country, was also common in Scythia.^c

^b I rather keep the more common name Tartars, than use the word Tatars.

^c Bryant's *Ancient Mythology*, 4to, vol. 1, p. 182, &c.; and *Asiatic Researches*, in several discourses pronounced by Sir William Jones; and Sanutus, lib. 3, part 1, in *gestis Dei per Francos*.

It does not fall within the limits of our present purpose to point out the subsequent migration of nations, nor to pursue them through those changes and intermixtures which have been occasioned by a spirit of adventure, the influence of conquest, and the union which has been formed by people of different languages, nations, and appearance.^d It is obvious, that on this subject much darkness and uncertainty must rest, though the general idea of one original race is strengthened, and the diversity of people in some respects accounted for, by the changes which are observed to happen among those nations who migrate into other countries, and combine their language, their manners, and their acquirements, with men of a distant and foreign race.

Not only is language diversified in its substance and texture, by being mixed and blended with the articulate sounds

^d Upon this subject, see a curious statement in Pinkerton's Geography, vol. 2, p. 2, 3, 4.

of other nations, whose mode of utterance is different, but colonies of illiterate people taking up their residence in uninhabited, or insulated situations, must necessarily corrupt, and considerably alter, the language of their native country. If a dialect of the same language, in one province of a kingdom, can scarcely be understood in another ; if, in the progress of improvement, the original state of a language is gradually lost, shall we be surprised to find that their native language is in part, or altogether lost, by a colony of adventurous savages, who have no written records to keep it in view, and who have no intercourse with the writings, conversation, or people, of their native country ? By unfortunate situations, and unfavourable changes, even knowledge itself is sometimes lost, and an enlightened nation becomes the habitation of ignorance and disgrace.

The foregoing statement is made upon the supposition that the earth was overwhelmed by a flood, and that the

future generations of the human race descended from one family, which was preserved from the general destruction. The religious calculations of India define and prescribe periods at which the world has been successively destroyed and regenerated, and at which it will continue to suffer similar changes till the universe itself be dissolved. These statements may be figurative, and in some degree fanciful, but they are evident proofs of an ancient belief, that since the creation of the world, it has been subjected to some extraordinary changes.

In various countries of the east, there are many allusions to the deluge of the Scriptures. The ship of Isis and Osiris in the Egyptian worship, the shrine of Jupiter Ammon carried by his priests in a boat; the figure of globes placed in boats on the ceiling of a ruined temple at Tentyra, and even the Cymbium, a drinking cup of the Romans, have all of them, we may presume, as well as

the ark of Noah, a reference to some important deliverance from the dangers of water and the floods. The appearance of the earth, the broken and irregular strata which it presents, and the shells and other deposits of the sea which are found in high situations, and on the tops of mountains, do loudly and positively proclaim that this world has suffered some violent changes, in which water appears to have been a principal agent.^c

But without any of these indications respecting a flood, or, though the present appearances of the earth may be accounted for on other principles of geology, yet can it be deemed unphilosophical or credulous to give our assent to this opinion of antiquity? Is it not rather highly reasonable and consistent with the soundness of philosophy to believe, that among so many orbs, which

^c Bryant, vol. ii, title Deluge ; and Denon respecting the ruins of Tentyra.

have floated for ages in the immensity of space, some of their attractions and influences, which vary in different positions, may have been so violent in certain situations, as to occasion jarrings and a temporary wreck, till the power of the Almighty did again bring order out of confusion? If certain combining circumstances produce sudden torrents, and uncommon floods, can it be deemed credulous, if we suppose it probable, from the circumstances of nature itself, that some extraordinary movements of the planetary system might produce a deluge and overwhelm the world? The earth upon which we dwell, is but a point in the universe; and to have it shaken or destroyed by a flood, is less when compared to the great whole, than the overthrow of a cottage, when put in competition with the stately surrounding fabrics, which have resisted the storm or defied the flood.^f

^f Of the changing tendency of creation, see Dr. Robison's *Mechan. Phil.* p. 560, & 561.

Climate has an astonishing effect upon both the animal and vegetable creation. An excess of heat or cold has a tendency to give a negro cast to the features of the human countenance, and extreme heat alone in a succession of many generations may produce the black colour which appears in the negro race. The people of Fezzan are black, though not decidedly, in every particular, a negro tribe, and though the capital of their country is little more than two degrees further to the south than Grand Cairo. Between the tropics there are people whose complexion is fair; and the genuine country of the negroes, on this side the equator, does not appear to begin till you reach the 15th degree of north latitude.

Egypt then, from its situation, is not entitled to be considered as the natural habitation of blacks, nor is it sufficiently ascertained that the original inhabitants were Cushites, of a black skin and curled hair. In opposition to M. Vol-

ney's statement, Mr. Browne positively declares, that the Copts, or descendants of the ancient Egyptians, manifest in their appearance no similarity, or approach to the negro race. Were it even certainly made apparent that mummies have been found with short hair, curled, woolly and black, it could only imply that some negroes had resided in Egypt; but as few, if any mummies, are of that description, there is no room to suppose that the original inhabitants were of that race or complexion.

If the sphinxes in Egypt, and the statues of gods and idols in India, have any resemblance to the African blacks, it may refer to some connection which of old subsisted between these countries and the negro regions, and may be descriptive of some mythological allusions, but can no more be received as evidence, that the ancient Indians and Egyptians were negroes, than the image of a sphynx can lead us to believe that animals ever existed with the countenance of a wo-

man and the body of a lion;^g or that the people of India were ever such monsters and giants as the statues and idols might indicate, which are found in the caverns and ancient temples of that country.^h

If we be not able to describe exactly the original inhabitants of Egypt, neither can we certainly discover whether it or Abyssinia was first inhabited. The Delta, in early times, having been marshy and unfit for the habitation of men, we unavoidably consider the Thebaid or Upper Egypt as a more ancient place of abode. Probably, too, it was peopled prior to Abyssinia, which is further dis-

^g Such appears to have been the shape of the statuary sphynxes in Egypt, in allusion perhaps to the sun being in the signs of Leo and Virgo during the principal increase of the Nile. But the fabulous sphynx of Thebes in Bœotia is described as having the head and breasts of a woman, the body of a dog, the paws of a lion, the wings of a bird, the tail of a serpent, and a human voice. See Lempriere's Dict. of proper names, word sphynx.

^h Volney, tom. i, ch. 6; Asiat. Resear. vol. iii, p. 355; and Browne's Travels, ch. 12.

tant from that region of the world, which we have considered as the earliest residence of men.ⁱ

We are struck with the vast subterraneous abodes, which are numerous in Abyssinia, Egypt, and India. They have been described as the productions and abodes of the Troglodytes and early inhabitants of the earth; but their appearance and workmanship evidently lead us to a period of society when the arts of life were considerably advanced. Some of them are cut by the chissel with much dexterity, and though the hieroglyphics and paintings may have been of later date, yet they rather appear to have been original ornaments, and describe the architects as men of ingenuity and skill. Not only have these excavations been used as habitations for men, but in Egypt and other parts of the world they have been set apart as tombs for the dead. In India they appear to

ⁱ Notæ in Jamblicum de Mysteriis, c. i.

have been temples, and though, perhaps, originally designed for such solemn purposes, they might at length be used as places of abode for the hermit or the ruder tribes of men.^k

Thebes was evidently the capital of Upper Egypt, and the most ancient metropolis of that far famed country. The time when it was built, or the persons by whom it was erected, exceed investigation, and remain in the depth of unfathomable events. But its extent and grandeur authorize us to believe, that it was only finished by the slow progress of arts and national wealth. It was situated in the 26th degree of north latitude, and stood on both sides of the river Nile. Like other ancient cities, it comprehended a great extent, and included within its bounds, a considerable quantity of unoccupied land. Thebes has been described in terms of extravagant great-

^k Herod, lib. ii, c. 97 ; and Strabo Geog. lib. xvii, p. 1184.

ness and praise, but its ruins on both sides of the river still exhibit a circumference of 27 miles.¹

It was adorned with towers, statues, and superb temples, but every thing was vast and beyond nature. Though much of the workmanship was exquisite, yet in contemplating the labour, we are necessarily led back to an early stage of the arts. In that stage every thing must be majestic, and children are delighted with tales of the giants. In the infancy of science, every thing is great and swelling; it is the progress of knowledge, and slowly acquired justness of taste, which lead to true proportion, genuine beauty, and exquisite adjustment. Thebes, which was the Pathros of the Scriptures, seems originally to have been denominated, No Ammon, which being translated by the Greeks, was Diospolis, or the city of Jupiter.

¹ Tacit. Annal. lib. ii, c. 66; Browne, ch. 9.

The Delta was gradually improved and converted into fruitful fields. Being rich in soil, and productive of valuable crops, it soon became populous, and drew toward it the seat of government. Thus, Thebes, splendid and famous, the glory of Egypt and the theme of the poet, was gradually forsaken and fell into decay. Noph, Moph, or Memphis, next succeeded in honour, and became the capital of Egypt. In this lower part of the country, a new dynasty had probably been established, which, increasing in power, had subdued and overthrown the king of Thebes.^m If the glory of No Ammon passed away, and as its ancient splendour has long been buried in its ruins, so Memphis, in its turn, though long a city of renown, has for ages been so completely destroyed, that the place where it once stood is not accurately known. If we ask how

^m Ptolemy's Geog. title Egypt; Isaiah, ch. xix, v. 14; and Jer. ch. xli, v. 1.

cities so vast and superb could be completely defaced, we may perhaps find a satisfactory answer, in being well assured that the superb and costly structures were chiefly confined to the houses of the great, the palaces of kings, the tombs of monarchs, and the temples of the gods. The houses of a people rude and simple were easily built and easily destroyed; and if we judge from ancient historical hints as well as from a practice which still remains, they consisted chiefly of mud, and would easily be swept away.ⁿ

If the word Memphis be of Hebrew origin, it signifies, by the mouth; and may be descriptive of the place where the city stood. Mr. Browne describes its scite as being some miles to the south of Cairo, on the west side of the Nile; where, toward the mountains, there are ruins of buildings, and vesti-

ⁿ Harmer's Observations, vol. iii, Specimens, p. 29 & 30.

ges of canals. It does not appear to have been situated nearly opposite to Grand Cairo, as some have supposed; but according to Pliny, between the pyramids of Giza and those of Saccara. Here Mr. Browne judiciously supposes it to have stood, and this opinion may embrace the suggestions and sentiments of Mr Bruce; for Memphis not having yielded to Thebes, in glory or extent, may have stretched its suburbs, both towards Giza and Succara, comprehended within its precincts Metrahenny and Mohannon; and having for its burying places, without the city, those ancient depositaries of the dead, at the pyramids of Giza and Saccara. There astonishing pits and excavations are still found; and there numerous mummies have been discovered.^a That part of Memphis, which stood upon the low banks of the Nile, may have been hastened to destruction by the overflowing of the

^a Shaw's Travels, p. 422, fol. Oxford, 1738.

river, when the artificial banks, which defended the city, had fallen into decay. And if a part of the city was on the eastern banks of the river, it may have been swept away by the streams of the Nile, gradually changing their course, and running nearer the mountains of Mocattem.^a

Ancient geographers have described Memphis, as situated fifteen miles above the Delta ; but the upper angle of this district of Egypt is evidently a moveable point, and from its commencement must gradually have been retiring further from its original situation, and drawing nearer the base of the triangle, or southern shore of the Mediterranean sea. The upper point of the Delta divides the streams of the Nile ; and being constantly beat upon by the force of the current, is necessarily worn down.

^a Browne's Travels, ch. 13 ; Pliny, lib. 1, c. 9, et lib. 36, c. 12 ; Bruce, vol. i, ch. 3 ; Denon, Lond. Aikin's edit. vol. 1, p. 312, &c. ; and Rennel's Geog. of Herodotus, p. 495.

The divergent streams, operating powerfully upon the sides of the triangle, continually alter the line of their direction, and thus gradually approaching one another, the branches of the Nile will at length meet, and only constitute one stream.

In conformity to this idea, the Canopic and Pelusian streams of the Nile, as well as other branches of that river, are mostly filled up by accumulated sand, and receive no water but in time of the inundation.^a

Therefore, instead of seven mouths, which were celebrated of old, there are now only two branches of the Nile, which sweep their courses by Rosetta on the west, and Damietta on the east.^b

^a Pliny Nat. Hist. lib. 36, c. 16, 17, &c. and Renel's Geog. of Herodotus, p. 511.

^b A. D. 1796, Murad Bey opened the channel of that branch of the river, which passed by Damietta, and turned the water into its ancient course ; but the tendency to alter its direction still remains, and ultimately the branches will be united in one general stream.—Browne's Travels, ch. 11.

Upon this philosophical principle and experimental truth, we may suppose the upper point of the Delta to have been originally at the foot of Mount Mocatem, where Grand Cairo was afterwards built.^a

Pursuing the same idea, we shall not venture even to suggest what branches of the Nile may formerly have diffused themselves abroad, or how much it may have overflowed of the Hieropolitan province, which from the Pelusian branch of the Nile reaches the mountains to the south, and the Arabian gulf on the east. This province, at one time denominated Goshen, was assigned to the brethren of Joseph, as a proper place for their flocks and their herds. Their possessions and that of their descendents, might also extend to the province of Zoan, which lies on the opposite side of the Pelusian branch; but Memphis was probably the royal seat of the Pharaohs and not Ta-

^a Ren. Geog. Herod, p. 459; and Volney, tom. i, c. 2.

nis, which was the capital of Zoan. Though Egypt was often divided among contending princes, yet the Pharaohs seem to have been sovereigns of the country; and the confined situation of Zoan, in the damp and unhealthy flats of the Delta, was not suitable to the splendid and powerful princes of the house of Pharaoh. At different periods in ancient history, the strength of Egypt was apparent, and its wealth conspicuous. From Siene to the shore of the Mediterranean, on the coast of the Red sea, on the banks of the Nile, and on the expanse of the Delta, cities flourished, and prosperity prevailed.

Every step we advance among the scenes of ancient Egypt, new interests arise; and they excite the greater curiosity, as they are seen through the mists of time, and the obscurity of former years. Having seen a country rise in importance, by the influence of a people, of whom we know but little, we are anxious, from every accessible source

and document, to trace their situation and acquirements. There can be no advancement in useful knowledge, without a communication of sentiments, and mutual intercourse ; therefore language is known in every nation, and cultivated in civilized society. The Coptic language is almost obliterated by the successive changes of governments and people, which have happened in Egypt ; and perhaps it is only to be found, in its genuine purity, in the monasteries of the country, where valuable manuscripts are said to be deposited.

The ancient language of Ethiopia, that is, the written language of Abyssinia, or that of Geez, as Mr. Bruce defines it, is strictly connected with the Hebrew and Arabic, and they do all appear to be dialects of the Chaldean tongue. It is to be presumed that the ancient language of Egypt was a branch from the same trunk ; and nearly allied to the language of the patriarchs of old. For when Abraham descended in-

to Egypt. it does not appear that he was a stranger to their speech, nor are the brethren of Joseph represented as finding it difficult to make known their wants to the servants of Pharaoh. We are told, indeed, that Joseph spoke to his brethren by an interpreter; but this species of address might be resorted to in order to prevent them from recognising his voice, and for enabling him to restrain those strong emotions of surprise and affection, which would probably have burst forth, if he had opened his mouth to address them in articulate language. This conduct of Joseph, too, might the more readily be pursued, under this consideration, that although the different dialects of the two countries might be so much understood by the people of both, as to enable them mutually to transact the common affairs of life, yet it might be requisite, in a formal interview at court, to have the sentiments and opinions of the parties more distinctly and fully made known.

Therefore in addition to every other reason for employing an interpreter, Joseph might deem it an expedient measure, lest his accent and the complete knowledge of his brethren's language might betray the secret, and prematurely reveal what he wanted, for a season, to remain unknown. If language be indispensably necessary for the intercourse of society, so marks or characters for recording deeds, and corresponding at a distance, are of the utmost importance to the improvement of society, and are universally prevalent in every civilized state. Before the hand had been directed to draw characters for representing the powers of language, the untutored mind had taught the rude herd of men to perpetuate events, by heaps of unpolished stones, by pillars, by festivals, by altars, by poetic effusions, and groves.^a The next step in the progress of recording transactions

Tacitus de moribus German. c. 2, and 3 & 4. Gen. ch. 31, v. 45, 46, &c ; Harmer's Observ. vol. ii, p. 471.

was probably to employ symbols, and to represent the thing signified by some shape, or circumstances, which might suggest the ideas, and communicate the sentiments. It was in this manner that the ancient Egyptians wrote; and this mode of representing language the Greek historians term hieroglyphic, because it was supposed, that thus they intended to keep the knowledge of their most sacred things from the curiosity of strangers and the inspection of the multitude. But as these characters were written on the tombs, as well as the temples, as they appear on the obelisks as well as the ruins of the palace, we are bound to believe, that it was an ancient and imperfect method, which was employed, without exception, in recording things civil as well as sacred.

Besides the allegorical figures, there appear to be arbitrary marks, which suggest the idea of alphabetical characters; but as the system must have been imperfect, so the knowledge of it is com-

pletely lost ; and all our ideas concerning the hieroglyphics must be connected with uncertainty, unless some happy circumstances shall occur to enable us to form an alphabet, and decypher the writings.^a Ancient manuscripts have been found, accompanied with hieroglyphical figures ; and to this mode of description may we impute the allegorical language which St. John employed in the book of Revelations. The *golden candlesticks*, the *rainbow*, the *stars*, the *beast rising out of the sea* with seven heads and ten horns, and the *woman clothed with the sun* and having *the moon under her feet*, together with many other similar expressions, are all symbolically descriptive of important things, and striking events. But some of them by us are darkly understood, as being wrapt in allegories, which we cannot easily comprehend ; and alluding to events, which

^a Tacit. Annal. lib. ii, c. 14 ; et Lucan, lib. iii. v. 222.

have not hitherto been completely made known.^a In ancient times the characters of language were engraven upon stones, buildings, and rocks. Thus the law, which was given from Mount Sinai, was inscribed upon two tables of stone; and in the time of Job it was customary to write upon the rocks.^b

On the Arabian as well as the Egyptian mountains various inscriptions are seen; but as they cannot now be decyphered, we know not whether they relate to civil transactions, whether they be sepulchral records, or whether they be only the temporary and casual effusions of the way-faring man. In the line of improvement, we find plates of lead or brass made use of instead of stone; then linen or tables covered with wax, so that what was written could easily be altered or expunged. A stylus, or iron

^a See the book of Revelations, *passim*.

^b Exod. c. xxxiv, v. 1; and Job, c. 19, v. 24.

pen, was employed in writing ; and as the corrections upon the wax or soft materials were made with the broad end of the iron instrument, so often to turn the stylus^a was a mode of expression among the Romans, for directing an author often to correct, and frequently to write again those pieces of composition, which he was resolved to publish.^b Thus, too, from the stylus, or iron pen, employed in writing, the word style is applied to the manner in which a person expresses himself in communicating his sentiments. In certain stages of society, pastoral notes and verses were inscribed upon the leaves of trees ; but the rind, or inner part of the bark, was more especially made use of in writing, and hence the Latin word *liber*, which means the bark of a tree, was at length employed to signify a book ; and such also

^a Liv. lib. iii, c. 57 ; and lib. iv, c. 7 ; Tacit. annal, lib. iv, c. 43. Hor. Art. Poet. v. 399.

^b Hor. Sat. lib. 2^d ; Sat. x. v. 72, &c.

is the Greek noun *biblos*, from which our canon of scripture is denominated the Bible. Till after the time of the prophet Mahommed, writing was in a very imperfect state in Arabia ; and, in the rude condition of that country, sentiments and couplets were occasionally inscribed upon the scapulæ, or shoulder blades.^a

In the Egyptian progress of improvements, the papyrus, which grew in the marshes of the Delta, was applied to the purposes of writing, instead of the more inconvenient materials, which have already been mentioned. Two or more coats of the rind, being moistened, or pressed together, were formed into sheets of a convenient size, and devoted to the purposes of literary pursuits.^b When a king of Pergamus, and one of the Ptolemies, were vying with each other, in forming a library and encouraging learn-

^a Nota in Specim. Hist. Arab. Pocock, p. 157 & 158.

^b Some say that they were made of the pith.

ing, the Egyptian king refused to supply the Grecian prince with the quantity of papyrus which his wants demanded. We shall not ascribe this conduct of Ptolemy to the influence of any ungenerous principle; for the scarcity of the materials, or the confined nature of the manufacture in Egypt, might afford no greater a supply than was necessary for the demands of the Museum at Alexandria. But the refusal on the part of the Egyptian king was productive of benefit to the interests of science; for Eumenes, the prince of Pergamus, brought into use, in Greece, skins of animals prepared to answer the purpose of writing; and thus a more lasting and valuable material was easily provided for books and records of importance.

For more common and less durable purposes, a substance was at length prepared from the pulp of cotton, silk, or linen; and vellum, as well as parchment was reserved for deeds which required durable materials. In reference to the

papyrus of Egypt, the newly invented manufacture was denominated paper; and thus the facilities of multiplying writings being increased, a rapid progress of improvement ensued; till the art of writing and printing has adorned the age in which we live, and made the avenues of science both easy and delightful. In writing upon soft substances, reeds with ink were employed instead of the stylus; and even in these respects a multitude of improvements have followed, which produce expedition as well as beauty. Ancient writings, when finished, were wrapt up in a roll on a cylander or staff; and in allusion to that old and superseded practice, books, though now made in a different form, are still denominated volumes.*

* Isaiah, ch. 8, v. 1; Pliny Nat. hist. lib. 13, ch. 24; Cic. Tusc. quæst. lib. 1, ch. 11; and Dr. Adams' Antiquities, p. 560, &c.

CHAP. II.

The general manners of the Egyptians. . . .

Their casts, or classes. . . . Of marriage. . . .

Arts and sciences. . . . Pyramids. . . . Lake

Mœris, and the Baher-bela-ma. . . . Morals

and Religion. . . . Treatment of the dead

. . . . Mummies. . . . Mourning. . . . Buryings.

WHEN we inquire into the state of an ancient people, it will naturally be expected that we should delineate their manners. But when we trace their habits through a long succession of distant years, we must find them assuming different forms, and see them displayed in various colours. To catch, therefore, a few transient features, and describe the general turn of their sentiments, is all we can accomplish in so remote and diversified a scene. To divide the people into casts or tribes, with peculiar immunities and pursuits, was prevalent in Egypt, as it still continues in Hindostan ;

and perhaps these are to be considered as but partial vestiges of a more general and very ancient custom. The throne was hereditary in Egypt ; and when the royal race was extinguished, a successor to the crown was chosen from among the priests, who were held in the rank of princes. They were highly honoured, not only on this account, but also because they were the depositaries of science ; and held, as it were, in their hands the light and glory of the world. A priest was to have but one wife ; yet the other classes of the people were not subject to this salutary rule ; but were permitted to form connections, which the laws of better regulated states positively forbid.^a

Soldiers were next in rank to princes ; and they were supported by a stated allowance from the lands and revenues of the kingdom. In conformity to the idea of separate orders, or casts, every youth

^a Herod. lib. 2, c. 163, 164. ; and Diod. Siculus, edit. Amstelodami, fol. A. D, 1746, vol. 2, p. 84, 85.

was appointed to learn and cultivate the profession of his father. Laws were not only made for the good government of the state, but they were also administered with fidelity, and executed with discretion. Early in the east the aged commanded high respect; and the father of a family, or the head of a tribe, was invested with distinguished powers. In Egypt, too, the paternal influence was revered; but as masters had not the power of life and death over their slaves, so neither had fathers that unlimited authority over their children.

In the earlier ages of the country, the Egyptian youths were trained to abstinence and moderation; but luxury broke in upon those temperate regulations, and changes of manners, laws, and government, ensued. Animal as well as vegetable food was allowed and consumed in Egypt; but at different periods, and in the different principalities, into which the kingdom was sometimes divided, the same animals, with the varying opinions of men,

were reckoned fit or unfit for food. We find the ancient Egyptians refusing to eat with strangers ; and a similar practice is still prevalent in some places of the east. In the same countries too, travellers have remarked a practice illustrative of that distinction which Joseph shewed to his favourite brother Benjamin. Those at a feast, whom they intend to honour, are presented with a greater quantity of food, and a greater variety of dishes.

The astonishment which the sons of Jacob expressed at the order in which they were placed, and the manner in which they were treated in Egypt, may be supposed to have arisen from the simple and artless habits to which they had been accustomed. They were then but in the pastoral state of society, occasionally living in tents ; and like the Arabs of the desert, habituated to sit at meals with little distinction, and few ceremonies. In very ancient times men were acquainted with the use of wine and

strong drink ; and we may presume, that the Egyptians also possessed the means of enlivening their banquets. In early times, their exhilarating liquor was made from barley, and had the name of Tythus ; but in the age of Augustus, the wine of Egypt was famed by the poets ; and the banks of the lake Mareotis were celebrated for grapes ; but they appear to have been less than those of the land of Canaan, which was highly extolled as rich and fertile. When the children of Israel, in their journey toward that country, sent a party of their multitude to discover the nature and circumstances of the land, they went to the brook Eshcol ; and having cast down a cluster of grapes, they bore it upon a staff, between two men, which appears to have excited astonishment among the people.^a

^a Strabo, Geograph. fol. edit. Amstelodami, A.D. 1707. lib. 10, p. 1151. ; Harm. Observ. vol. i, p. 346, &c. ; Tennant's Ind. recreat. vol. i, 254 ; Virg. Geog. i, v. 91. ; Hor lib. 1, ode 37 ; Genesis, ch. xliii, v. 32, &c. Numbers, ch. xiii, v. 23, &c. ; and Diodorus Siculus.

The attire of the ancient Egyptians has not been distinctly recorded ; and we are chiefly left to collect our information from the writings of other nations, and from the manners of other people, to whom the habits of the Egyptians appear to have had a considerable resemblance. In times of rudeness and simplicity, the people at large must have appeared in plain apparel ; but in the courts and palaces of kings, the whole attire was splendid and sumptuous, and they delighted also in changes of raiment.^b The accounts of ancient history, as well as the continued practice of the east, sufficiently assure us, that, suitably to the warmth of the climate, the clothing was loose ; and, in conformity to the ideas of grandeur, the garments of the rich were full and flowing. Much attention appears to have been paid to the hair, that great ornament of female beauty ; and the manner in which the

Luke ch. vii. v. 25.

head was attired must then have been of greater consequence in that country, as the unnatural restraints of seclusion and excessive jealousy appear at that time to have been unpractised in the eastern world.

Among the wandering Arabs, or Beduins of the desert, to whom we must look for ancient customs, no veils are worn by the women, and no undue restraints are imposed. The origin of female seclusion, and cruel confinement, must chiefly be sought for in the commands of Mohammed, who appears to have pointed that keen jealousy which more readily appears in the ardent temperament of warm climates and sultry regions. The suspected fidelity of his favourite wife Ayesha roused the dark and jealous affections of his soul; and while he smothered the emotions of revenge, and pretended a belief of her purity, he exercised the vigilance of jealousy himself, and instituted regulations which bound in fetters the degraded fe-

males of the Mohammedan states. These jealousies easily prevailed in corrupt minds, where sentiments of religion were inculcated, which place the supreme happiness, both of time and eternity, in sensual indulgence and voluptuous pursuits.^a

We have found that polygamy was allowed in Egypt; and though we are not made acquainted with the solemnities which constituted marriage, yet we have reason to believe, that the parents of the bride received from the bridegroom presents and valuable considerations, for the loss which was sustained in parting with their daughter, and for the expence which had been incurred in rearing and maintaining her. The practice to which we have alluded prevails among the Beduin Arabs; is found in the interior of Africa; was grievously made apparent

^a Robertson's Historical disquisitions, London, A. D. 1794, 8vo, p. 416, 417; the preface to Mignot's History of the Ottomans, Lond. 1787.

in the seven years which Jacob served Laban for his daughter Rachel; and in the subsequent seven which he had still to spend in servitude, before he obtained the object of his sincere affections. And a vestige of the same custom is evident in the gratuities which Shechem offered, provided he could have to wife Dinah the daughter of Jacob.^b

The state and improvements of a people are partly described by their domestic employments. In Egypt both men and women were employed in drawing water and conducting rills to water the ground. In the manners of the east, this employment was honourable for the women; and they went out to it adorned with their best attire. Hence we may see why the servant of Abraham waited at a well, in the neighbourhood of his master's connections, till a damsel should arrive with a pitcher, whom

^b Park's Travels, p. 266, &c.; Genesis, ch. xxviii. v. 18, &c.; and ch. xxxiv, v. 11, 12, &c.

he might choose for a wife to Isaac, the son of Abraham. Hence too we see the propriety of giving jewels and fine raiment to Rebekah, while she had come to the well to draw water. In weaving, and all kinds of needle work, the women of Greece and Rome were honourably employed; but among the Persians such kinds of labour appear to have been reproachful. When Alexander the Great made a present of rich Grecian stuffs to Sysegambis, the captive queen mother of Darius, and hinted, that the young princesses might find amusement in learning to work them, the lady viewed the recommendation as an insult upon fallen greatness, and, in anguish of heart, burst into a flood of tears. The thread and linen of Egypt were highly extolled for fineness; and in those works of industry, the women doubtless took an active part;^a but what in those ruder times might appear

^a Proverbs, ch. xxxi, v. 13, &c.; and ch. vii, v. 16.

to be exquisite and fine, might scarcely bear a comparison with the labours of more improved times. The more carefully preserved mummies of Egypt are relicts of the higher orders of the people; and the linen made use of in wrapping them would probably be the best which the country could produce, yet the finest fillets are found to be but coarse.

There is no country in the world more advantageously situated for commerce than the kingdom of Egypt. The Mediterranean sea opens to it the coasts and navigable rivers of Europe, and gives it access to Barbary and Asia Minor. The Red sea opens a communication between it and Arabia, Persia, India, and the southern parts of Africa. It is not certain at what time the Egyptians embraced those opportunities which their natural situation afforded; for, being timid and fearful of strangers, we find them at one period averse to the intercourse and commerce of adventurers by sea. Even when their views became

more liberal, the Greeks, though a favoured nation, were laid under restraints, and only permitted to land at Naucrates, a mercantile town, which they were allowed to erect in a distant situation from Memphis.

This aversion to strangers might be more or less powerful at different periods of their early history, but in its most prevalent state it was perfectly consistent with that species of traffic which the Ishmaelite and Midian merchants were permitted to have with the people of Egypt. Under certain limitations, individual foreigners are admitted into China, though the reserve and policy of the government induce them to shut the gates of commerce at the city of Canton, and confine mercantile adventurers to the suburbs, and other prescribed situations allotted for their reception.

The Egyptians stood in need of spices, perfumes, and delicacies, which their own country did not afford, and

therefore they were disposed to traffic with the Arabian or other merchants, but this intercourse does not imply that foreign adventurers were readily admitted into the country. And we may conclude from the feigned suspicion of Joseph toward his brethren as spies, that the police of the country watched with jealousy the intrusion of strangers. The spiceries, balm, and myrrh, which the Egyptians bought from the merchants of Arabia, amount to more than a presumptive evidence that a commercial intercourse did not then exist between India and Egypt. It was in the former country that those articles of luxury were generally produced, and the people of Arabia seem to have enjoyed the commerce.^a When the descendants of Jacob returned from their bondage in Egypt, they were forbidden to intermeddle with the Edomites, who were

^a Genesis, ch. xxxvii, v. 25, and ch. xlii, v. 9.

descended from Esau, and consequently their brethren ; but in the course of time, and amid the multitude of events, David the king of Jerusalem added the land of Edom as a province to his dominions, and thus got possession of the celebrated harbours of Elath and Ezion-geber.

Solomon his son was a pacific prince, attended to the affairs of commerce, visited the harbours, and, by the assistance of Hiram king of Tyre, carried on an extensive and profitable trade. The ships of Tarshish, and the gold of Ophir, enriched the king of Jerusalem ; but whence those vessels sailed, and whither they directed their course, has been so much controverted by historians, and is wrapt so much in obscurity, that I shall easily plead an excuse for avoiding a question which is both intricate and impossible to be solved. We have been directed to Spain, to Tarsus in Cilicia, to the regions of India, and by Mr.

Bruce, with considerable acuteness, to the southern coast of Africa.^b

The benefit of this traffic reverted to the Edomites; the harbour of Ezion-geber ceased to be resorted to on account of the dangerous rocks which were near its entrance, and Elath, the remaining port fell into the power of the Syrians. By degrees the merchants of Tyre engrossed that lucrative trade, and bringing it across the desert to Rhinocurura, it was partly carried to Tyre, and partly disposed of in Egypt. The trade of India was at length enjoyed by the Egyptians; and, to improve the interests of commerce, a canal was opened between the Pelusian branch of the Nile and Arsinoe, a town upon the shore of the Red sea, not far from the place where Suez now stands. The honour of forming this canal has been ascribed to various monarchs, from Pharaoh Necho to the

^b Bruce, vol. i, ch. iii, and iv; 2 Samuel, ch. viii, v. 14; 2 Chron. ch. viii, v. 17 and 18; and the Introduction to Ren. Map of Hindostan, p. 34.

caliph Omar, and perhaps it was a work which frequently excited the attention of the kings and governors of Egypt. It was an obvious mean of improving the country, to open an easy passage between the Arabian gulf and the river Nile. Perhaps it was begun by some of the Pharaohs, and finished in the reign of succeeding monarchs, or passing through a sandy desert, and occasionally neglected, it might become unfit for use, and be repeatedly cleared and re-opened by the commands of Darius Hystaspes, Ptolemy II, the emperor Trajan, or Adrian, and the caliph Omar. During the reign of the Ptolemies, Alexandria was the centre of this commerce; but several nations of Europe partook of the merchandize, and at length, by bold efforts, they turned it wholly into their own channels.

While Egypt was favoured with the trade of India, Arsinoe was deserted, because the Arabian gulf, which is dangerous throughout, was peculiarly hazardous for vessels toward the upper part,

and therefore Berenice was built upon the western shore, considerably further down; and afterwards a more convenient port was found at Myoshormos. From both of these latter towns, there was a communication across the country to Coptos, upon the Nile, and thence the merchandize was conveyed upon the river to Grand Cairo. A. D. 1498, the enterprizing spirit of the Portuguese discovered a passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope: then the stream of trade ceased to flow through Egypt; and the French, the Dutch, and the English, partook of its benefits with the fortunate discoverers. The industry and favourable circumstances of the British nation gave them at length the decided preponderancy in the scale of commerce; and now they command an unexampled extent of territory in India, and convey the most of its trade to the nations of Europe.^c

^c Rennel's Geog. of Herod. p. 466; Strabo, lib. xvii, p. 1156, &c.; and Robertson's Historical disquisitions on India, p. 171.

The trade and manufactures of Egypt must have early directed them to the arts of tinging and dying with different colours. The manufactures of Tyre were famous for purple, the Chaldeans were skilled in the art of painting, and evidences of the Egyptian knowledge in colours are produced in the ancient paintings which have been found among the ruins of temples and costly buildings. Engraving, as a natural concomitant of the art of painting, was known and practised among the early nations of the world: of this we have a proof in the figures delineated on the shields of heroes. Sculpture, carving, architecture, and several of the fine arts, appear to have been cherished, if not invented, in Egypt.^d

The exquisite tones, the delightful harmony, and the sublime expressions of music, are only to be found among

^d Ezek. ch. xxiii, v. 15; Bruce, vol. i, p. 103, &c; and Denon, vol. i, p. 204, &c. and vol. iii, p. 34, &c.

the diversified improvements of highly polished society ; but music, in its more rude and natural state, has entered into the amusements and pursuits of every tribe or people. Poetry implying rythmus, and allied to music, appears to have been prevalent in uncultivated life, and to have been the most early method of employing language, for preserving amongst nations the fame and exploits of the people. Martial songs are calculated to inspire armies with courage, and by the excitement of the poet Tyrtæus, the Lacedæmonians, when ready to despond at the siege of Ithome, were roused to further exertions, and crowned with success. The Germans too were incited to battle by the power of poetry and rude music ; and the influence of martial airs is still employed and felt in the field of battle. The tabret and pipe, the harp and other instruments of music, entered into the festivals, solemnities, and rejoicings, of ancient nations. Upon the architectural ruins of Upper Egypt,

harps have been discovered in various stages of improvement; and among the rudest appearances of ancient musical instruments, are jars of potters-ware having the apertures covered with parchment, and braced in the manner of drums.^e

Moses was celebrated for the wisdom of Egypt, and Solomon was extolled as being wise above all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and the accumulated learning of the east.^f In those countries much had been done to enlarge science, and become famous, but the minds of the people being held in the fetters of superstition, and unavoidably involved in the mists of comparative ignorance, they could not raise the eye of the mind into the regions of sublime and pure investigation.

^e Genesis, ch. xxxi, v. 27; Isaiah, ch. v, v. 12, and ch. xxx, v. 32; Justin, lib. ii, c. 5; Hor. Art. Poet. v. 402; Bruce, vol. i, p. 127, &c.; and Denon, vol. iii, p. 37.

^f Acts, ch. vii, v. 22; and 1 Kings, ch. iv, v. 30.

It was in Egypt that the science of geometry was either invented or early improved. The annual overflowings of the Nile destroyed the land-marks of the Delta; and when the waters retired, to restore their proper allotments to every individual, required the art of measuring and proper adjustment. How far the people of Egypt had formerly advanced in the knowledge of mathematics, cannot now be correctly ascertained, but the discoveries of future ages entitle us to conclude that the range of their acquirements was of small extent.^g

Pythagoras, who studied in the schools of Egypt, offered a hecatomb to the gods when he discovered the relation which subsists between the hypotenuse of a right angled triangle, and the other two sides of the figure, as it is now demonstrated in the 47th proposition of the first book of Euclid. Thales, who drank of the same streams of Egyptian science,

^g Strab. Geog. lib. xvi, p. 1098.

sacrificed an ox on the altar of a divinity, upon finding the method of inscribing a right angled triangle within a circle.^h

In attempting to approximate the boundary of mathematical knowledge among the ancient Egyptians, we would not encourage a wish to set an inferior value upon the knowledge of that respectable nation. In that country Thales was taught to measure pyramids by the length of the shadow, and the Egyptians were eminently skilful in the science of astronomy. The Chaldeans disputed with them the honour of having travelled first in that important path of sublime inquiry, but the statuary fragments of the dog-star which appear among the ruins at Axum sufficiently prove the early progress of astronomy in that part of the world. Connected with the overflowing of the Nile, the Heliacal rising of that star was an object of importance

^h Playfair's Chron. title Egypt.

to those who dwelt upon the banks of the river. But as we cannot positively determine whether Nubia or Thebais were first inhabited, so neither can we ascertain whether at Axum or Thebes the study of astronomy was more early pursued.

In either of these countries the sky is serene, and scarcely is the atmosphere darkened by a cloud. In a situation so favourable for observing the heavens, eclipses were calculated, and various astronomical improvements were made. Pythagoras, who studied at the feet of the Egyptian philosophers, was the first who hinted, in Greece, that the planets moved in their courses about the sun, as their centre. Thales divided the spheres into five zones; and in other respects highly improved the Grecian astronomy. These philosophers of Greece, by their own industry and genius might have considerably improved their scientific knowledge; but to the Egyptian schools, where their minds were first

enlightened, much of the honour and credit are due. The structure is raised with greater ease, when the plan is adjusted, the foundation laid, and the materials prepared. The commencement of every art or science presents a greater number of difficulties to be overcome, than any part of its progress toward perfection.

The golden calf, which Aaron formed in the wilderness, and other monuments of art, are sufficient to prove the knowledge which the Egyptians possessed of the valuable metals, and their skill in moulding. But like nations in a rude state, they do not appear to have been acquainted with the use of iron, but employed flints or sharp stones in delicate operations. It was thus that they made the incisions for embalming; and it was thus that Zipporah, the wife of Moses, circumcised her son.^a

^a Diod. Sic. vol. i, p. 79, &c.; and Exod. ch. iv, v. 25.

Those in the practice of physic and surgery were obliged, in one period of the Egyptian history, to follow no prescriptions, and make use of no applications, but such as were registered, and approved in their sacred books. Thus the imperfections and mistakes of former times were entailed upon succeeding generations, and no room left for the improvements of skill and experience. These prohibitions, however, must have been but the restrictions of a season ; and we have reason to believe, that in the days of Egyptian eminence, the knowledge of physic, and the practice of the healing art, were conspicuous for excellence at Thebes, Memphis, and Alexandria.

The idea of stars and planets influencing diseases, and rendering seasons prosperous or adverse, necessarily blended the doctrines of astrology with the practice of physic, and the common pursuits of life. The Egyptians, as well as the Chaldeans, were given to divina-

tion, interpreting dreams, and foretelling events. In very ancient times the Egyptians dived into the secret councils of futurity, and attempted to open the book of fate, and read its decrees in a particular manner, by cups of divination; and vestiges of that practice were found by Norden, when he travelled in Egypt. Hence, and from such sources, in the dark ages, a superior knowledge of natural things was ascribed to enchantments and sorcery, and denominated magic, from the philosophers of the east, and especially of Persia, who were known by the name of Magi. Thus, while we contemplate the native dignity of the human mind, and rejoice in its powers of endless improvement, we are struck with humility by the degrading effects of ignorance and superstition.^a

^a Cicer. de divinatione, lib. i; Exodus, ch. 7, and ch. 8 & 10 Genesis, ch. xlv, v. 5; Norden, vol. ii. p. 229; and Jamblichus de mysteriis, § 3.

The pyramids of Egypt are rather monuments of industry than skill ; and the immensity of their size has long attracted the curiosity of travellers. A pyramid is a solid figure, which is contained by three or more planes of a triangular form, having their bases in the same plane and one common vertex. The pyramids of Egypt have a quadrangular base, and some of their summits are not drawn completely to a point ; although at a distance they have a sharp appearance. The contractions are not made in every case by a sloping shape of the stones, but are formed in the manner of steps, by having every successive row further in than the preceding ; and notwithstanding what has been asserted, it does not seem that they were ever covered by blocks of granite or marble.^a

The height of the largest pyramid of Giza has been so differently represented

^a Niebuhr, tom. i, ch. 2.

that we are at a loss what conclusion to draw.^a

After comparing a diversity of accounts, the altitude of this pyramid may be fixed at somewhat less than 500 feet; the sides, which have a sloping direction, may exceed 600, and the breadth of a side at the base, cannot be accounted less than 690. Of the pyramids, which are situated near Giza on the Lybian side of the Nile, and nearly opposite to Grand Cairo, there are three, which rear themselves in a majestic manner, and attract more especially the notice of

^a The various measurements for finding the height of this pyramid, from the time of Herodotus till that of some of our later travellers, have run through many intermediate numbers, from 800 feet to 440. This diversity may in part have been owing to the different positions which were taken in attempting to ascertain the altitude; but has chiefly been occasioned by the methods employed to determine the height. Some appear to have made use of calculation only, and to have founded it upon the number of layers, or rows of stones, of which the pyramid is composed; while others applied mathematical instruments to discover the height and elevation of the structure.

travellers. They stand so high upon a rising rock, that they have never been reached by the waters of the Nile. The marble and granite, which have been found in their neighbourhood, are but fragments, and probably belonged to other buildings; for the stones of the pyramids are soft and free, and appear to have been found in the adjoining rocks.

The pyramids of Egypt depart but a little from that part of the geometrical definition, which describes them as solid bodies. The largest pyramid of Giza, the size of which we have attempted to describe, is the only one of those huge masses whose interior parts appear to have been examined. No exterior aperture seems to have been left; and the labour of opening them is difficult and tedious. The one which lies farthest to the north, and of which we have been more particularly treating, has several apartments, or chambers of a considerable size. In one end of these apartments, there is a trough or stone

coffin, formed of a large and solid block of granite. The end for which it was intended, remains undiscovered; but every visitant has found it empty; and when struck, it emits a sound, which is repeatedly echoed through the cavities and openings of the whole pyramid. The passages which lead to those apartments are sometimes so small and straitened with sand, that the unexperienced visitant, though laid at full length, must occasionally be dragged forward by his conductor.^c

^c The passages and apartments of the largest pyramid are thus described by Mr. Browne:—

	F.	I.
Great chamber,	34	5
Breadth,	17	2
Sarcophagus,	7	8
Breadth,	3	2
Depth within,	2	10½
Thickness,	0	6
First passage, descending,	105	1
Small chamber, length,	18	9
Breadth,	17	1
Anti-chamber, length,	7	5
Main gallery, upper part,	150	0
Lower part,	148	0
Passage to inferior chamber,	109	1

Browne's Travels, ch. 13.

After leaving the pyramids of Giza you are presented with others farther to the south, which shoot far into the deserts of Lybia. They are scattered from Hawâra, through Dashûr and Saccarra. One has been noted at Medûn, which is not constructed in a tapering form, but consists of stories one above another, each of them being less in diameter than the lower; and the sides of the different stories are somewhat sloped, so as to appear at a distance something in the form of a common pyramid, but broader, and perhaps not finished at the upper part. Some of those pyramids are constructed of unburned bricks, are all of them less perfect than those of Giza, and were probably built at a more early period.^h

Two kinds of brick have been observed in Egypt; one of them burned, and the other dried in the sun: the

^h Strabo Geog. lib. xvii, p. 1160; Pocock, edit. folio, London, A. D. 1743, vol. ii, p. 49, &c.; and Shaw's Travels, p. 414.

latter kind being intermixed with chopped straw, which gives them a more durable quality; and thus we understand the nature of that work, in which the children of Israel were engaged, when they made use of straw in making brick. We see also the hardship to which they were exposed, when it was required of them to accomplish their former tasks, though not provided with straw as usual, but compelled to search and provide it for themselves. It now appears to be well ascertained, that neither the whole nor any part of the pyramids consists of the natural rock, shaped and moulded in its place; but, on the contrary, it is evident, that they are wholly built, and reared by the hand of art.¹

To know by whom these superb structures were reared exceeds the means

¹ Norden, edit. Copenhague, folio, A. D. 1755, vol. i, p. 87; Genesis, ch. v, v. 7, &c.; Bryant's Mythology, vol. iii, p. 532; and Browne, ch. xiii; Denon, vol. i, p. 312, &c.

and the power of our inquiry. Their origin is ascertained by no record, and is lost in the darkness of remote times. The most ancient historian describes them as antiquities ; and though fable has mentioned princes, by whom some of them were built, yet the existence or era of the prince, as well as the date of the pyramids, are vague and uncertain.

Various and contradictory have been the opinions which different inquirers have formed concerning the purpose for which these pyramids were raised. Can it be supposed that such enormous masses were formed for the sole purpose of receiving the lifeless body of an ambitious prince ? The trough, or sarcophagus may have been designed for some religious purpose ; and the tapering form of the pyramids might be made to imitate the flame of fire which the eastern nations early adored ; and the vicinity of the pyramids, being ancient depositories of the dead, still suggests that they may be tombs or sepulchral monu-

ments. The four sides facing the cardinal points, imply some progress in the knowledge of astronomy, but direct us to no events which can elucidate their nature or history. Lost in the wilds of conjecture, and unable to form, even a probable opinion, let us contemplate their vastness, admire their antiquity, and pass on without presuming to understand what unexplored ages have forbidden us to know.

As the sphynx is a monster in shape, so, among the Egyptian ruins, it appears to have been sometimes represented as of a monstrous size. In this situation it appears in the neighbourhood of the largest pyramid of Giza. Conjecture, among its various efforts, has suggested an idea, that secret passages were originally formed between the sphynx and the pyramids, and that the whole of these communicated with secret apartments in the rocks below. But the chambers in the only pyramid which has been examined, are so small in comparison to

the mass of the buildings, that there is scarcely room to suppose, that these contrivances had any religious, or highly important, connection with subterraneous abodes or apartments in the rock.*

The labyrinth, which is supposed to have been the model of a celebrated building in Crete, stood near, or as some say, on an island of the lake Moëris. Its origin has been ascribed to the mutual agreement of twelve kings, who, in different parts of Egypt, were, at one time, swaying different sceptres. It was intended to be the centre of union for religious festivals, and councils of state. It therefore consisted of numerous halls and places of accommodation; but it constituted the part of a plan, which was composed of too numerous and heterogeneous parts, to be firm or durable. Before the building was finished, jealousy had loosed the union which was formed; and the completion of the struc-

* Shaw's Travels, p. 421 & 422.

ture is ascribed to Psammeticus, who triumphed in the struggle for power, and, in the attitude of victory, was the declared sovereign of Egypt.

Other buildings of the same nature have been described by historians in magnificent terms; but the one which we have been recording is the best ascertained, both with respect to its existence and situation. No vestige of its ruins now remains, and the lake Moëris itself, which has long been celebrated as the laborious work of a powerful monarch, seems to be nothing more than a natural hollow, where there may be springs of water, but is chiefly supplied by the overflowing waters of the Nile. Its present size does not appear to exceed 40 miles in length, and 6 in breadth, though, by early historians, its circumference was fixed at a greater extent; and, in former days, the range of its waters may have been less confined. Whatever glory it formerly possessed, it is now mostly deserted, and affords but

a precarious subsistence to a few miserable fishermen.^c

From the Nile towards those parts of the country, there is a tract of land, which is still fertile, is yet an object of care, and appears to have been formerly in a higher state of cultivation. Still there are several canals, which promote its fertility, by the waters of the Nile ; and among other monuments of antiquity, travellers have noticed the Bathen, which appears to be a large excavation, by human art ; and was doubtless intended to receive and contain water, either for ornament or use. As to the Baher-bela-ma, or river without water, which must have formerly communicated with the lake Moëris, and runs northward in a winding direction, for more than a degree, it does not appear ever to have been the principal channel of the Nile, as some histo-

^c Herod. lib. ii, ch. 148, 149, also, his Geog. apud Rennel, p. 501 ; and Browne's Travels, ch. xii.

rians have asserted ; but it seems to be a natural hollow, which may have received a part of its waters, which run through the lake Mœris, in those happier days of Egypt, when the canals were better preserved, and when there was a greater supply of water, for refreshing and fertilizing the country.^a

The moral and religious sentiments of the Egyptians must often have varied in their nature and tendency, as they ran through such a length of ages, and were subjected to so many changes of political institutions and forms of government. Connected as we have supposed the early inhabitants were, with the nations of the east ; and peopled as Egypt seems to have been from Persia, or the adjoining regions, we are well authorized to believe, that their worship and religion had a strict connection with that

^a Browne, ch. xiii ; Ren. Geog ; Herod. p. 502 ; Volney, tom i. ch. 2 ; and Memoirs relative to Egypt, Lond. 8vo, A. D. 1800, p. 270, &c.

of the patriarchs. To one God we may presume they offered up their prayers, their sacrifices, and their obedience. Our sentiments, in this respect, are strengthened and confirmed by the ancient religion of Upper Egypt. That part of the country was first inhabited, and there, it is affirmed, that Jehovah was held in reverence and adored. Even to later ages, memorials of that ancient practice have been preserved; and religious inscriptions referred to the attributes of God, as a being eternal, unchangeable, the former of the sun, and but in part revealed.

In the islands of the South sea, and other situations of simple nature, ideas of a superintending God appear to exist, though they are but faintly marked; and the acts of worship are few and artless. But in states of society, where luxury prevails, the passions are inflamed; and in the progress of corruption, the malevolent affections acquire strength, and display their influence in

acts of cruelty and guilt. Veiled as the divinity is from our view, and imperfectly as we are acquainted with his nature, the religious feelings, and the devotional sentiments must always bear a resemblance to the general state and temper of the mind. Therefore, in the dark and corrupt stages of society, where revenge and the baser passions reign, the ideas of God, and the worship which he requires, must be wrapped in gloom, and clothed in horror. The unrelenting and vindictive mind will ascribe the same sentiments to the pure and exalted author of nature which it feels and cherishes in itself. It was thus, by the operation of ignorance and corruption, that the whole nations of the world, so far as they were then known, presented altars stained with blood, and, violating the finer feelings of nature, mingled with their sacrifices the blood of men.

This practice entered into the crimes which degraded the Canaanites, and for which the children of Israel were ap-

pointed to destroy their polity, and take possession of their land. It found access into the northern nations, debased the religion of the Druids, was prevalent at Carthage ; and even the polished Greeks retained that practice of barbarity ; and Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, was made ready to be sacrificed at Aulis, for a favourable wind to Troy. It was not till the year of Rome 657, that human sacrifices were forbidden in that country ; but the practice was not wholly abandoned, or it was renewed and put in force, in the time of Julius and Augustus Cæsar. In the period of this abounding cruelty, Egypt, too, was dishonoured by human sacrifices. The story of Busiris putting strangers to death, is similar to the conduct which Iphigenia was compelled to pursue when she was delivered from death at Aulis, and by Diana carried to Taurica. There she had the temple of that goddess committed to her management ; and in that rueful office was compelled to violate

the rights of hospitality, and sacrifice strangers to Diana.^a

These are but the fictions of the poet, and the tales of legendary records, but they mark the prevalence of human sacrifices; and if these must have been offered, the unprotected stranger, in a barbarous country, must have been placed in imminent peril. At Medinet-Abu, upon the walls of an old edifice, a hero is represented in bass-relief, as going in procession to a temple to sacrifice a child, who appears in the train, having its hands bound behind its back. A pillar of earth, which is denominated the bride, is annually broken down at Grand Cairo, when the overflowing waters of the Nile are first permitted to enter the grand canal of that celebrated city. By some it has been supposed, that the rite, which we have described, and not

^a Macrob. Sat. lib. i, c. 1; Andrew's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i, epit. p. 1; Dio Cassius, lib. xliii. c. 24. et lib. xlviii, c. 114; Virg. Æneid, ii, v. 116.

a real victim, gave rise to the assertion, that a virgin was annually sacrificed to the Nile ; but the strong suggestions of truth cannot surrender their rights, even to the amiable and engaging sentiments of charity and compassion. What has been already stated of nations, considerably improved, requires us to believe, that in the general wreck of morals and humanity, Egypt was also infected with cruelty and corruption. Among the negroes in the interior of Africa, where many ancient customs remain, human sacrifices are found to be offered ; and on certain occasions a girl, richly dressed, is thrown into the Niger.²

It is difficult to preserve upon the mind unmixed ideas of a spiritual and unseen God. To abstract from the notion of deity, every shape and corporeal form requires an exertion of the mental powers, and a purity of conception

² Denon, vol. iii, p. 69 ; Niebuhr, vol. i, p. 69 ; and Horneman's Travels, p. 103.

which are inconsistent with a rude, and vitiated state of society. One of the first steps of religious corruption appears to have been the worshipping of the deity, in the works of his hands. The sun, the moon, and the stars, appeared in the lustre of sublime glory; and, while they attracted the notice, they excited the veneration, of Egypt, as well as a considerable part of the world. The people of Persia worshipped the sun; and in the progress of idolatry, revered the lofty firmament; but in the earlier stage of this progress, they looked, we may suppose, at the splendour of the firmament, but adored the glory of God.^a

As we cannot ascertain the period when the practice of human sacrifice began, so neither can we describe correctly the steps and proceedings which prepared the mind for scenes so unnatural and full of horror. A sense of guilt, the fear of punishment, and the hope of

Jerem. ch. vii, v. 18. and ch. xliv, v. 17, &c; Asiat. Resear. vol. i, p. 61.

appeasing the offended divinity may be viewed as the original sentiments, which led to oblations and sacrifices in religion. The more valuable the sacrifice, the more sanguine would be their hopes of acceptance and peace: and in the general wreck of morals and compassion, the *fruit of the body* was offered for the *sin of the soul*. In the regions of India, too, the altars reeked with human gore; but Brahma rose with the dignity of a prophet, and stopped the progress of cruel offerings, and bloody oblations. To remove an inveterate evil requires rigorous measures; and the violence of the requisite stroke doth often extend further than the boundaries of the disorder: so in correcting the evils of human sacrifices, Brahma appears to have prohibited the use of animal sacrifice, and to have introduced a system which required the people to avoid even the eating of flesh, and to live upon vegetable food.*

* Asiat. Resear. vol. iii, p. 260.

Osiris, one of the chief divinities in Egypt, may be supposed to have represented the sun, whom the Egyptians early adored, and in the varying movements of idolatry, he may have been worshipped as a deified hero or patriot king. But when human sacrifices, and those of animals in general were prohibited also in Egypt, several beasts were held sacred, and from an excess of cruelty, the practice run to the extreme of tenderness.

Of all the sacred and inviolable animals, the bull and the cow were most revered. The former was worshipped at Memphis by the name of Apis, and at On or Heliopolis by that of Mnevis. In India and Tibet, the cow is worshipped; and the priests of the Nile, at the Abyssinian source of that river, offer in sacrifice a black heifer at the heliacal rising of the dog-star.*

* Juv. Sat. 15; Cic. de Natur. deor. lib. iii, c. 15; and Rennel's Memoir of a Map of Ind. p. 233; Turner's Embassy to Tibet, p. 244; and Bruce *in loco*.

The bull which was worshipped at Memphis was of a black colour, and distinguished by peculiar marks and spots. At his death the priests carefully sought for a successor; and the calf into which the divinity had fled was discovered by the marks which were peculiar to Apis. A similar practice, though somewhat more exalted in its nature, is uniformly pursued at Tibet upon the death of the Lama. That sovereign high priest and depository of their god is held in the highest reverence. When he dies, there is deep mourning, and joy only returns when the child is found with those peculiar appearances which shew unequivocally the abode of the divinity whom they adore.

This superstition of Tibet appears to have extended farther than the boundaries of that country, for the present dynasty of China is of Tartarean origin, and the emperors of that race hold in reverence the Lama of Tibet. In the

Lama of Tibet and the bull of Egypt we see remains of an ancient superstition, and also discover evident vestiges of the doctrine of transmigration, which was anciently taught in Egypt, and from the celebrated schools of that country, brought by Pythagoras into Greece.^b

Isis also stood high in the list of Egyptian divinities. She was worshipped as the queen of Osiris; and as he was supposed to represent the sun, so in her, perhaps, the moon was adored. In the time of Job both these luminaries were venerated; and still in the remoter parts of Africa, the new moon is saluted by acts of worship. When the superstition of Egypt was changed from animal sacrifices to more simple offerings, Isis like Isa, or Isi, of Hindostan, was worshipped as the goddess of nature, and the fertilizing power of the earth.

Typhon, who was viewed in Egypt as

^b Diodor. Sicul. vol. i, p. 17; Pliny, lib. viii, c. 71; and Turner's Embassy to Tibet, p. 310.

the author of evil, and the murderer of Osiris, was therefore held in detestation, and was addressed with religious ceremonies as an object of hatred and fear. To him the crocodile and the wolf were sacred ; and every thing terrible and severe was ascribed to him, and the influence of his malevolent power. If the author of evil and the promoter of misery was thus addressed with the offerings of terror, the source of good and the blessings of life were revered and worshipped with gratitude. Contemplating the benefits which were derived from the bull, the ox, and the cow, receiving the fruitful returns of agriculture, and valuing highly the nutritious effects of milk, and the productions of the field, the gratitude of the nation was excited towards the ox which laboured, the cow which fed them, and the earth which yielded abundant fruits.

As in Greece and Rome various passions and affections had their altars, so in Egypt the power of superstition pre-

vailed, and in grateful but misguided emotions of the heart, the fruits of the field were venerated. So inconsistent is it with the unbiassed exercise of reason to worship objects fading and lifeless, that we can scarcely credit historians when they rank the leek, the onion, and other vegetable productions, among the objects of nature which the Egyptians revered. But the Lotus, which was highly esteemed in Egypt, is still held sacred in Bootan, a dependant province of Tibet. To these emotions of religious gratitude are we to ascribe the worship which in sultry regions is paid to fountains and rivers.

The Abyssinian source of the Nile, we have found, is worshipped; the streams of the Ganges are held in veneration; and the Egyptians themselves saluted the overflowing of the Nile with acts of adoration. Was it not for this purpose that Pharaoh's daughter was bathing in the Nile when she discovered Moses hidden among the flags? Except-

ing in religious homage, the king's daughter would not have bathed in a public river near Memphis, while the nature of eastern manners must have provided an abundance of baths for utility and pleasure. When the emperor Theodosius forbid the Nile to be worshipped, the people were alarmed for scarcity and famine, but the streams overflowed as usual, and the fields yielded their fruits.

How much are we humbled to see the mind of man so degraded, the glory of reason so obscured, and the superior powers of man so completely perverted. Happy are those nations where true light illuminates the understanding, and where knowledge leads them to the pursuit of what is excellent, and the practice of what is divine. Highly to be esteemed are those sentiments of religion which elevate the affections, purify the heart, and dignify the human mind. Strictly connected with the genuine exercise of reason and wisdom, are exalt-

ed and just notions of the supreme Lord. They give, as it were, a spring and vigour to all the powers of the understanding; and while the mind is enlightened, its whole pursuits are more naturally exalted and worthy of praise. But whenever the mind is debased, or reason perverted, the sun of wisdom is plucked from the firmament, the whole paths of life are dark, and danger as well as disgrace ensues.

If you would travel through the world with honour and safety, you must put in full exercise the necessary means of knowledge and protection; and if man is to vindicate his rank and pre-eminence among the works of his Creator, he must lay the foundation of success upon just sentiments of virtue and moral worth. To have in our view purity itself, leads us to sanctity and excellence; but if the objects of our fear and obedience be mean, grovelling, or unhallowed, no principles of purity will influence the mind, and corrupt affections

will be multiplied in the soul. Private happiness and public prosperity depend upon genuine principles of religion ; and where honour cannot bind, nor a sense of fear operate, the power of heavenly wisdom will dignify the mind and diffuse wisdom throughout the various ranks of society. As Egypt sunk in the grossness of superstition, so its political strength gave way, and its destruction hastened apace ; and the real excellence of a nation may be safely measured by its regard to virtue and true religion.

Next to that reverence which we owe to things divine, is that natural respect which belongs to the tombs of our fathers and our friends. Contemplating those silent abodes, the chords of woe and affectionate remembrance are touched, and the heart is moved by the most impressive feelings. The respect which is justly due, and generally exercised, is also made apparent by that anxious tenderness which is commonly evinced in disposing of the dead. Some nations

bury, and others burn, those memorials of death, while in certain situations the lifeless bodies are carefully preserved. From the scarcity of materials in the ancient Egyptian history, we cannot trace the changes which the people of that country pursued in the disposing of their dead. Embalming and preserving them, in the state of mummies, constitutes the only knowledge that we have of their practice; but these operations were not the contrivances of rude ages, and necessarily imply a knowledge of the arts and improvements of civilized society.^d

The brains and bowels being the most apt to putrify, were carefully removed, and the body being anointed with oil, for a certain period, was deposited for a while in nitre, then perfumed with aromatic drugs, wrapt in linen, bound with fillets, and the whole varnished to defend it from the air. The features and

^d Herod. lib. ii, c. 86, &c.

true appearance of the face were preserved, and the body put into an open coffin of sycamore wood, or a kind of pasteboard, formed of cloth, and carefully painted. The bodies thus prepared, were sometimes deposited in their own houses, but more commonly in vaults and excavations, where some of them are still found in a complete state of preservation.^f

But these very particular attentions seem chiefly to have been bestowed upon people of rank and eminence, for shrouds have been found, in which the body was so much consumed, that the bones only remained. Coffins do not appear, even in Egypt, to have been uniformly in use, and when Joseph died, it is stated as a mark of honour, that

^f No accurate information with respect to the manner of preparing mummies can be derived from dissecting and examining those which are sold in Egypt, for the Arabs and Egyptians frequently impose upon the curious stranger. From fragments of real mummies they artfully make figures, which represent both the human frame, and also the bird ibis, which the Egyptians held sacred.—*Phil. Trans. for the year 1794, part ii.*

having been embalmed, he was put into a coffin. The use of coffins was not common among the ancient Jews ; neither did they attempt to preserve the dead bodies, but they richly perfumed them, and the profusion was great in proportion to the respect and honour which were intended to be shewn.

The incisions made into the body, for preparing the mummy, sympathetically imply an idea of cruelty, and when the operators had finished their task, they were driven away with a shew of anger and violence. As a further fanciful mark of respect for the dead, those who applied the myrrh, cassia, and other odorous drugs, were treated with kindness, as agents of mercy and compassion. Somewhat analogous to this, was an ancient practice in Persia, where, upon the death of the king, the astrologers were driven from court, if they had not foretold the event, and the physicians were banished because they did not retard or prevent it. Thus, Daniel appears to

have been treated, who was at the head of the wisemen in Babylon ; for after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, he was not known to Belshazzar the new king : but though the forms and ceremonies of the country had removed him from court, yet he was retained in the public service by the wisdom of Nitocris, the mother of the young king, who in reality managed the affairs of state.^c

Preparing mummies, and the preserving of dead bodies in a dry state, are considerably favoured by the influence of warm climates. If a camel die upon its journey in the deserts of Egypt, the whole moisture is extracted by the heat before the process of putrefaction is completely formed, and dead carcasses are frequently found in a dry and un-mutilated state. At Palermo there is a large subterraneous apartment, with galleries and divisions, where human bo-

^c Farmer's Observations, vol. ii, p. 165 ; Daniel, ch. v, v. 11 and 12 ; and ch. viii, v. 27.

dies are shewn in a high state of preservation, dressed in their usual apparel, and placed upright in niches; their features are entire, and they preserve the general appearance which they had when alive. In this we discover a practice somewhat similar to that of forming Egyptian mummies, though the manner is diversified according to the views and situation of the country.^f

^f Brydone's Tour through Sicily and Malta, vol. ii, p. 47 & 48.

At Kilsyth, in the county of Stirling, North Britain, there was lately discovered a remarkable instance of the power which embalming possesses of preserving animal bodies free from putrefaction. A. D. 1796, a vault under the church of that parish was opened from a principle of curiosity, and a coffin was discovered, which the injuries of time had, in appearance, nearly destroyed. Upon pulling it asunder, one of lead appeared; and having broken into that sacred depository, another of thin deal was found entire. Impelled by increasing curiosity, the persons employed in this work of investigation, burst asunder this remaining receptacle of mortality also, and made a discovery which struck them with astonishment, and filled them with awe. They beheld a lady, whose dead body was completely preserved, and a child of a few months

Such methods of preservation may gratify the pride of the living, or be con-

old laid at her feet. Excepting a patch upon the lady's face, and the paleness which death unavoidably occasions, together with the trappings and preparations for the grave, the mother and child might have otherwise been supposed to have been enjoying the repose of a refreshing sleep.

The purity of the skin was unaltered; the shroud was unimpaired by the lapse of time; and the whole had been preserved by aromatic preparations, and a liquid which covered the bodies. Upon entering that abode of gloom and curiosity, a few weeks after the discovery, the bodies, I found, yielded to pressure, and, with elastic force, the parts returned to their natural position. The aromatic smell was scarcely perceptible, and the liquid which surrounded the bodies, and of which I still have a portion, had lost its strength, and become vapid. Probably it had been alcohol, which is known to preserve animal bodies; but a principal part of the secret seems to depend upon the exclusion of air, and keeping at a distance such bodies as have a rapid tendency to be decomposed.

Soon after these bodies were exposed to the action of the atmosphere, they began to hasten into decay; were at length shut up from the inspection of the curious; and committed to secrecy and silence. The lady appears to have been the grand-daughter of William earl of Dundonald; was first married to Viscount Dundee, and afterwards to Viscount Kilsyth. She and her child having been killed by accident, in Holland or Flanders, toward the beginning of the last century, had been carefully embalmed, conveyed home, and deposited in the family vault.—Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xviii; parish Kilsyth.

sistent with the views of men in certain circumstances of society, but the most natural, as well as most respectful, treatment of the dead, appears to be that of depositing them in the earth, and suffering them, as soon as possible, to return in secrecy to their kindred dust.

According to the manners of the east, all the affections of the mind are expressed with keenness and excess. When Joseph made himself known to his brethren in Egypt, *he wept aloud*; and so violent were the agitations of his joy, that the courtiers heard him in the house of Pharaoh. The solemn parting of friends is always accompanied with feelings and emotions of sorrow; but the separation which death occasions is so much the more affecting, as it is lasting and awful. The Egyptians mourned for their departed friends with loud lamentations, and impressive music. They covered themselves with dust, laid aside their usual dress, abstained

from every comfort, and severely afflicted their bodies.^a

To illustrate this eastern method of mourning, let us turn to collateral testimonies, and especially to those of the Jewish nation, among whom Egyptian ceremonies were retained. To describe the deplorable situation of the Jewish morals, and the mournful state of the nation, the prophet Ezekiel is required not to mourn for his beloved wife, when death should take her away. In this prohibition there is a direct reference to several eastern customs, which must have an immediate, or more remote, connection with the manners and habits of Egypt. *Son of man, behold I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke ; yet neither shalt thou mourn nor weep, neither shall thy tears run down. Forbear to cry, make no mourning for the dead ; bind the tire of thine head upon thee ; and put on thy shoes upon thy feet ; and co-*

^a Gen. ch. xlv, v. 2.

ver not thine upper lip,^a and eat not the bread of men.^b

In the cry of lamentation, not only the relations and those who were more intimately connected, joined their voices, but there were females whose profession it was, to lift up howlings, and the voice of loud despair. These adventitious and mechanical partners in sorrow are specifically described in scripture, by the appellation of *mourning women*, who *take up a wailing*. Similar expressions of sorrow are still apparent in various parts of Africa, as well as in Egypt itself.^c

Expressions of affliction give a temporary relief to sorrow ; and, complying with the customs of our country, is considered as a mark of respect conferred upon the dead ; but in the case of Ezekiel, and in reference to the depravity

^a So it may be rendered from the original, and not lips.

^b Ezek. ch. xxiv. v. 16 & 17.

^c Jer. ch. ix, v. 17 & 18 ; Park's Travels, p. 134, 167, & 277.

of the Jews, all such alleviating indulgences were positively forbidden. He was commanded to avoid even the semblance of woe ; and, contrary to the manners of the east, he was to bind upon his head his usual attire, and to walk with shoes upon his feet. In Greece and in Rome, as well as in Egypt and other countries of the east, the head was uncovered in the day of woe, the hair dishevelled, the bosom bare, and the feet unprotected by shoes. In deep distress sackcloth was taken for clothing, and the body was beaten and disfigured with blood. Cutting and mangling the body in the day of grief is not only asserted to have been a custom in Egypt, but appears to be sufficiently evident from the practice of the children of Israel upon going up from that land of captivity. Among those laws, which were enacted to correct their errors, as well as to guide their conduct, it was expressly enjoined, that they should not imprint

upon themselves *any marks* nor *make any cuttings in their flesh for the dead.*^b

Ezekiel was further required not to cover his upper lip, in token of woe, as the leper did in the day of his humility, and as the Jews of Barbary still continue to do in mourning for the dead. Grief discomposes the frame, and takes away the relish for food ; so attentions are paid to encourage the afflicted to take bread ; but Ezekiel was forbidden to eat of such feasts, as in the east, as well as in Greece and in Rome, were prepared to comfort the mourner in the day of his affliction. In conformity to the general disordered appearance of the body, in the season of their mourning, the joining of the eye-brows, which was deemed an ornament, was generally taken away ; and hence the Israelites were forbidden to *make any baldness between their eyes for the dead.* In short, it

^b Joshua, c. vii, v. 6 ; Job, c. i, v. 20 ; Adams' Antiq. title Funerals ; Lev. ch. xix, v. 28 ; Harmer, vol. iii, p. 385, &c.

appears to have been a general practice in the east, to endeavour, by extravagant marks of external affliction, to discover the inward agitations of sorrow and despair. The time of mourning was of longer or shorter duration, according to the rank of the person, and the varying fashions of the times. Anciently in Egypt, the death of their kings was publicly lamented for seventy-two days.^a

It is asserted by historians, that, when the ancient Egyptians died, an inquest was held concerning the character of the departed, and according as it was found to be meritorious or vile, so the person was honoured with a solemn funeral, or denied the performance of sepulchral rites. It was probably during the continuance of this practice, that persons, especially of distinction, were buried on the isles, or upon the banks of the lake Mœris. There, it is said,

^a Herod. lib. 2, c. 85 & 86; Lev. c. 13, v. 45; Deut. c. xiv, v. 1; and Harmer's Observ. vol. iii, p. 388, &c.

were erected statues of Mœris and his queen, or, according to the Indian traditions, those of Vishna and the mother of Mœris. On the eastern extremities of the lake human bones are still to be found.^a

To these places of burial, the dead bodies might be conveyed in a boat ; and as we have found that those of unworthy characters were not granted funeral honours, so upon the union of those circumstances might be founded the fable of Charon ferrying the souls of the departed over the river Styx and Acheron, and not being permitted to receive into his boat the bodies of those who had not been honoured with funeral ceremonies.^b

But, as among the Egyptians, the relations and friends had it in their power

^a Asiat. Resear. vol. iii, p. 341 ; and Browne's Trav. ch. xiii.

^b The lake Mœris is at present denominated Kerun, and that word, in the Coptic language, is explained as signifying a ferryman.

to remove the disgrace of their unburied connections, by paying their debts, and complying with other appointments for procuring an act of pardon and oblivion, so, according to the fable of Charon, the souls of the unburied might be wafted to the place of their final destiny after the expiration of 100 years.^b

It does not certainly appear, whether we are to understand that the wicked Egyptians were in reality not buried, or whether, by being deprived of sepulchral honours, it is only implied that they were deposited in the silent abodes, without any of those ceremonies and external appearances of mourning which marked the loss, and the funeral of those who were virtuous and beloved. Not to bury the dead bodies of criminals or of those who were held to be guilty, was

^b Diodor. Sicul. vol. i, p. 83; Virg. *Æneid*, 6, v. 325, &c; et Hor. lib. i, carm. 18; Beattie's *Remarks* on the 6th *Æneid*; *Philosoph. Trans.* Edin. vol. ii.

an ancient practice in the east, and is still occasionally pursued. When Saul the king of Israel was slain, his body was *fastened* by his enemies, the Philistines, *to the wall of Bethshan*. It was threatened to Jezebel, and the house of Ahab, that the dogs, or the fowls of the air, should eat them. When Tobit, a benevolent son of Israel, buried his captive countrymen, who were *cast* in contempt *about the walls of Nineveh*, he was threatened with death, and obliged to flee. Criminals were left unburied, even in the streets of Gondar, where the dogs and hyænas eat them; and in the same base and cruel manner were some of the British officers treated who bravely refused, though they were prisoners, to betray their country, and enter into the service of Hyder Ally.^c Awful are the terrors of arbitrary power when guided

^c 1 Samuel, ch. xxxi, v. 10; 1 Kings, ch. xxi, v. 23 & 24; Bruce, vol. iii, p. 288, and vol. iv. p. 81 & 82; and Tennant's Indian Recreations, vol. i, p. 183.

by the hand of ignorance, and unsoftened by the meliorating effects of courtesy, and the blandishments of civilized life. The climate may be favourable, the gifts of nature may be bountiful, but if the passions of men be not restrained by principle, and the power of the mighty regulated by wise institutions, the better feelings of the heart will often be violated, and the happiness of the human race will too frequently be sacrificed to pride and ambition. In corrupt and powerful states many are the proofs and memorials of perverse conduct, and degrading as well as afflicting appointments. It is the progress of wisdom, and the influence of humanity, which soften the severities of life, adorn society, and dignify man.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the sources from which this part of the history is drawn. . . . The ancient mode of calculating time. . . . Of Menes, Osymandias, Sesostris, and Pheron. . . . The siege of Troy. . . . Of Judea and Jerusalem. . . . Sebachus the Ethiopian in Egypt. . . . Sevechus and Sennacherib. . . . Tirhakah. . . . The twelve Egyptian kings.

IN this part of our inquiries, the western have been preferred to the eastern historians. The Greeks not only had a long and intimate intercourse with Egypt, but they rose to eminence in knowledge, while the Persians and Arabians were sunk in ignorance. While

the Greeks wrote at a period comparatively early, the best eastern historians did not appear till the 15th century; therefore, if the streams were not pure from which the Grecians drank, they must have been more turbid and impure in the fabulous and extended channels through which they were conveyed to the eastern nations. If the early history of Egypt be somewhat blended with Grecian fable, as it stands in the western historians, it appears to be still less accurate in the eastern records. Advancing further in our pursuits, we find the historians more nearly agreed, and, by their mutual aid, we are better enabled to discover the truth.

Though the remote annals of Egypt be so dark and uncertain, yet we may illustrate them a little by monuments of antiquity and collateral records. But still they must be void of that certainty, lucid arrangement, and regular succession, which constitute the excellence of genuine history. Hence the principal

point, in this part of the inquiry, is to give a general idea of the sentiments, manners, and improvements, of that distant period ; but we shall not detain the reader in a field of antiquity, where few things valuable or unequivocal in their nature can possibly be collected. The Egyptians, like other ancient nations, have arrogated to themselves a very high degree of antiquity, and carried their pretensions into the most distant times of heathen mythology. But how, in rude and uncultivated times, could they have accurately preserved the accounts of such ancient princes, and the order of dynasties so far removed ? Though it could be shewn that their knowledge of hieroglyphics was so ancient as to accomplish what they profess, yet the absurdity of the accounts themselves, and their inconsistency with more probable and better ascertained facts, do completely authorize us to reject, as fabulous, their extravagant claims to ancient glory. The knowledge of the solar year im-

plies a considerable acquaintance with astronomy; therefore, in the earliest stages of society it would be more easy and natural to calculate time by the changes of day and night, or by those of the moon, than by the revolutions of the earth in the ecliptic. Thus, an opinion has been formed, that the Egyptian year spoken of in the remote periods of their history extended only from day to day, or from one new moon to another. If this position be true, it will point out to us the nature of those calculations by which they laid claim to antiquity so incredible and high. If we may draw conclusions from the practice in Chaldea, we find that the earliest method of calculation there was by the revolution of days. In the time of Alexander the Great, there was a computation on record at Babylon, which run through 150,000 years. If this period be understood in the literal and common acceptation, the bare recital of the number is sufficient to shew its absurdi-

ty and falsehood. The Theban year consists of 365 days and 6 hours, which being multiplied by its cycle of 100 years, produces the Babylonish number 36,525 days. Thus the early computation by days having blended itself with a later method of reckoning by moons, or solar years, appears to have occasioned much confusion, and afforded an opportunity of calling in question the Mosaic history.^a

In the annals of India, two modes of calculation have been observed; the one poetic, as it is called, and the other astronomical or solar. A thousand years of the former are only equal to one year of the latter, and Noah's flood, which happened in the year of the world 1656, is marked in the 1,656,000 year of the poetic reckoning. Budha, a legislator and reformer of India, appeared A. M. 1903, and in the year 1,907,000 of the poetical calculation. It may be

^a Bryant's Ancient Mythology, 4to, vol. iii, p. 340.

added, as a proof that the solar year was not known in the early period of the world, that the astronomic reckoning was not introduced into India till the 906,000 year of the poetic calculation.^b As Egypt was anciently divided into various independent kingdoms, the princes who existed at the same time might, in the obscurity of tradition, be represented as reigning in succession, and thus the race and line of kings would be unduly extended.

In the history of Egypt, Menes is represented as the first king who sat on the throne of that country ; but the arrangements which he made, and the works which he performed, were not the operations of a rude age, and therefore he could not be Ham, nor Mizraim his son. The pomp which Menes introduced into matters of religion, the magnificence which appeared in the affairs

^b Asiatic Researches, Commun. 25, by Mr. John Bentley.

of life, and the luxury which pervaded the ranks of society, were not the productions of early and unformed times, but the effects of wealth and of ease. Arts and science, luxury and dissipation, may now be found in countries lately colonized, but these are the produce of foreign nations, where by slow degrees they were matured, and from which they were transplanted. But from what country or region could Menes have derived the knowledge and improvements which appear in his reign? If Egypt were not the birth-place, it was at least the nurse, of arts and of science, and therefore, previous to the reign of Menes, there must have been times of darkness and slowly progressive knowledge. To shew that the reign of Menes was of later date than that which has been generally assigned it, Sir Isaac Newton^c ascribes to him the building of Memphis; but Memphis either did not exist, or was

^c See his Chronology, word Menes.

little noticed even in the time of Homer, for it was Thebes and not Memphis which he celebrated as the glory of Egypt. Norden, too, supposes^d that Memphis was adorned from the ruins of Thebes. But whatever sentiments may be formed on the subject in review, it is evident that Menes was an illustrious prince, and that to him his country was indebted for many elegant and substantial improvements. If luxury and excess ensued ; and if for these Menes was blamed in the page of his country's history, we must ascribe such effects to the degenerating tendency of human affairs, and not to him who bestowed the means of happiness and glory.

Immediately after this prince's reign, there ensues a long interval of time, which the deficiency of historical memorials does not allow us to supply. In the gap of this unascertained period, we may place a general sketch of the shep-

^d Vol. i, p. 9.

herd kings, who reigned in Egypt for about 260 years. So little is known of the time when they arrived, or of the nation to which they belonged, that some have supposed they were the descendants of Jacob, who dwelt for a while in Egypt; others have maintained that they were people of Canaan, who fled from Joshua; while others believe, that they came from Chaldea; and some have contended that they were the Phalli of India. The Phalli were a brave and powerful people, who spread themselves from the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges; but now the few of them who remain are outcasts and poor. It is said that they entered Abyssinia, fixed upon the flat district between the northern boundary of that country and the tropic of Cancer, and afterwards built Meroe. Thence they might extend their conquests northward, enter Egypt where luxury reigned, and thus might conquer the infeebled natives. They were tyrannical in their conduct toward those

whom they had subdued ; and so different from them were they in their habits, that their memory was so obnoxious in the country, that when Jacob and his sons arrived, a shepherd was *an abomination to the Egyptians* : and hence we learn that the Israelites and the shepherds were not the same people.^a

Osymandias was powerful in war and illustrious in peace. He reduced to obedience some of his subjects who had revolted, and adorned his country with many large and superb buildings. His tomb at Thebes is highly celebrated for its splendour and elegant workmanship. It was encompassed with a golden circle, upon which were represented the sun, the moon, and the stars. Various pieces of sculpture and painting displayed his triumphs in war, together with the appointments of religion and justice at

^a Asiatic Researches, vol. iii, p. 317. 320 ; Bruce, vol. i, &c ; Playfair's Chron. article Egypt ; Sir Isaac Newton's do. Short Chronicle, p. 10.

home. To shew that righteous judgment was observed, a picture, which hung from the neck of the president of their supreme court, was represented as blind; thereby intimating that pure justice could not be biased by any influence or seductions whatever. The successors of Osymandias are not accurately known, but Uchoreus is the last mentioned prince of his race; and some have supposed him to be the same person as Mœris. It is probable that in this king's reign the seat of government was transferred from Thebes to Memphis.

Sesostris was distinguished by other appellations, but though his names were various, the actions of his reign are given more in detail than those of any other early prince. He possessed both the means and the desire of power; and through numerous ages fame has conveyed to us an account of his deeds. He commanded an army of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horse, and 27,000 chariots of war. Having vanquished Lybia, and

subdued Ethiopia, he turned his arms into Asia, crossed the Ganges, and penetrated to the ocean. Sesostris entered the country of the Scythians, but was not able to subdue that warlike people. Though at Colchis he met with effectual resistance, yet there colonies were planted, and there the manners of Egypt were afterwards found. Thrace was over-run, and Europe trembled; but his career was stopped by want of provisions, or rather he was compelled to return by seditious movements which existed at home. He explored the Arabian gulf, brought into subjection many of its ports, scoured the Mediterranean sea, took several of its islands, and seized upon the coast of Phœnicia. His power was great, and his councils wise, but they are not altogether to be estimated by the extent of his conquests, or the rapidity of his movements; for the nations which he subdued were little acquainted with the arts of war, and many of them were small and feeble states. Such,

says Major Rennel,^c were the nations of India which Alexander the Great overrun ; and such do some of them still remain.

Sesostris did not wish nor attempt to retain, in his grasp, the whole nations which he subdued ; but he plundered, required tribute, and led away captives. Intoxicated with success, he often suppressed the feelings of humanity, and sometimes trampled on benevolence itself. Occasionally he harnessed tributary kings, and compelled them to drag his chariot. Upon a day of triumph he observed a captive prince look wistfully back upon the wheel of the chariot as it run. Marking his rueful countenance, and struck by his affecting looks, Sesostris deigned to inquire what were the thoughts which occupied his mind. To which the afflicted prince feelingly replied : ‘ The motion of that wheel

^c Memoir of a map of India.

‘ describes the changes of human life,
‘ by which the high and the low are sud-
‘ denly changed,—the slave becomes a
‘ king, and the king a slave.’ The truth
and application of these affecting words
flew with the swiftness of lightning, pe-
netrated the soul of the Egyptian king,
and moved him to gentle compassion.
The chariot was stopped, the princes set
free; and from that moment no scene
of similar cruelty was exhibited at the
court of Sesostris.^e

He was generous and attentive to his
soldiers; and, upon returning from fo-
reign expeditions, he rewarded them with
money and portions of land. He was,
in general, the benefactor of his country;
he drained more completely the Delta;
made canals and communications for
watering the parched land; and raised
embankments to defend their dwellings
from the overflowing waters of the
Nile.

^e Diodorus Siculus, p. 62, &c.

He erected temples and public buildings at home ; and in countries which he subdued, pillars were erected to perpetuate his triumphs, and preserve in memorials the ease or difficulty by which these nations were subdued. The oppression which the children of Israel suffered in Egypt may have been occasioned by preparing materials for the extensive national works which distinguished this prince's reign. To ingratiate himself with the soldiers and people, he imposed the laborious and servile tasks upon foreigners and slaves ; nay, it was even inscribed on some of the public buildings that no native laboured in erecting them. A similar practice we observe in the conduct of Solomon ; for it is left on record, that when he built the celebrated temple of Jerusalem, no son of Israel did service in the work.^h After a life of activity and glory Sesostris was seized by blindness. Never till

^h 2 Chron. ch. viii, v. 9.

then having entered the house of adversity, he refused to bear the cup of affliction, and dashing it to the ground in a fit of unjustifiable despair, he put an end to his life.^b

Though we cannot mark the exact period in which Sesostris reigned, yet there are circumstances and events which place it in a stage of advanced society. If the children of Israel were in a state of bondage, while he was on the throne, a considerable time must have elapsed since they settled in Egypt; and, when Joseph was advanced in the house of his master, he was *arrayed in vestures of fine linen*, and had *a golden chain put about his neck*.^c Thus they were versant in the arts; and they also discovered habits and sentiments which are not to be found in rude society.

Civil liberty had begun to appear, and even the people were possessed of

^b Diod. Siculus, p. 62, 63, &c.

^c Genesis, ch. xli. v. 42.

lands. In order to have food in the time of famine from the royal stores, they suffered their lands to revert to the crown; but even in that situation they were treated with tenderness. Joseph, who had the chief direction of public affairs, gave them land to plough, and seed to sow their fields; but he required for Pharaoh the fifth part of the return. In lieu of rent and seed this was an easy payment, and yet Joseph has been accused of oppressing the people. Permanent property in lands might not then be understood in Egypt; and in Abyssinia, at this day, the whole disposal of the lands is vested in the king. When the reigning prince dies, the whole estates are surrendered to his successor, and he gives and disposes according to his pleasure. Even when a possessor of land dies, his children have no right to his estate; but, for a gift or grant of them, depend upon the will of the king.^b

^b Bruce's Travels, quarto, vol. ii, p. 266.

Joseph's intention, therefore, in resuming the lands was probably to make a more equal and judicious distribution in a time of scarcity and dearth. But why were not the priests divested of their possessions? they continued still to enjoy their lands, and to eat at the king's table. To assign the very reasons which influenced Pharaoh and Joseph would be too much for us to presume, but we have already found, that they were princes as well as priests; and, therefore, the good of the state required that they should be maintained in their proper stations; and from their possessions, too, were furnished the costly offerings and gifts, which the public services of religion required.

In the time of Sesostris, Cecrops founded the kingdom of Athens. Danaus seized the government of Argos; and Cadmus carried the use of letters into Greece. But the splendid deeds which are ascribed to Sesostris, Bryant has imputed to a number of colonies,

who went in succession to different countries, and who, in the language of ancient mythology, are denominated demigods, or heroes. It is thus he attempts to account for the deeds of Osiris, Hercules, Semiramis, and Cadmus, as well as other adventurers of ancient times.^b Without reducing so much history to fable, it may be granted, that monuments and names of illustrious men are found in countries and regions which they never visited, and it may also be confessed, that ancient literary improvements have been ascribed to Hermes, as a general name of wisdom, though in truth they may have been the work of ages, and a regular succession of gradual inventions.^c

Sesostris II, or Pheron, was the immediate successor of the great Sesostris. The reign of Pheron would not be de-

^b Bryant Myth. vol. ii, passim.

^c Herod. lib. 2, c. 102, &c.

serving of our notice, if it were not to suggest the probability, that while he was upon the throne, the oppressed Israelites departed from Egypt. The Nile having overflowed its usual bounds, this violent king, in impotent wrath, hurled a javelin into its waters. Is this a fabulous account of that frantic rage, which Pharaoh may be supposed to have expressed, when the returning waves of the Red sea were ready to overwhelm him and his host? In this part of the Egyptian history, there is an irregular and interrupted account of unimportant transactions: and nothing occurs worthy of observation, till Actisanes, the king of Upper Egypt, poured down his armies upon the Delta, and extended over it the arm of his command. The frequent changes and interruptions in the government of Lower Egypt had reduced it to a state of weakness and distraction. Disorder and licentiousness threatened its ruin, when Actisanes seized the reins of government, chastised

the plunderers, and sent the incorrigible into exile.

After these things we are soon presented with a space of five generations, during which no government is specified, nor any prince mentioned, as sitting upon the throne. At length we discover Cetes, who, in the language of the Greeks, was called Proteus. He was denominated a sea god, because he dwelt upon the sea shore, and encouraged commercial transactions. On account of his wisdom and power he was represented in fable as being capable, at pleasure, of changing forms.^b It is supposed that this prince reigned before, and during, the siege of Troy; and that to a port of his kingdom Paris was driven by storm, when he was carrying Helen from her husband Menelaus. Proteus understanding that Paris had violated the sacred rights of hospitality, and had secretly fled with the wife and best beloved of his

^b Virg. Georg. lib. 4, v. 441, &c.

host, he dismissed the traitor with indignant threats, and kept the fair but faithless lady to be sent back to her injured lord. These things which happened in Egypt were not then known to the Grecian states; and the ambassadors who were sent to Priam would not believe the assurances which were given them, that Helen had not arrived at Troy. Before an explanation could be received from Egypt, the bold and indignant Greeks sailed with a powerful fleet, and lighted up the flame of war, which lasted ten years, and was not extinguished but in the ruins of Troy.

Mr. Bryant has called in question the reality of this memorable siege; but though the genius and poetic powers of Homer may have embellished the tale, yet the reality of the war may still be received, as bearing marks of probability and truth. Though few or no traces of the walls or city of Troy remain, yet no proof is hereby adduced, that the town and towers thereof never existed.

The ravages of time, and the violent revolutions of the eastern world, have swept away buildings more extensive and durable than they. The fields of Troy, where the heroes fought, are yet distinctly recognised; the streams which witnessed their courage still murmur their praise; and the tombs of the mighty are yet undestroyed. Thus present circumstances concur with ancient history in recognising Troy and its celebrated fall.^b

In the period of the history at which we have now arrived, the names of a few kings have been inserted; but they are accompanied with surmises of so diversified and doubtful a nature, that they are unworthy, either of description or confidence. Then there is presented a space of considerable extent, where the daring forms of conjecture have scarcely ventured to appear. Where a regular

^b Q. Curtius, b. 2; Rennel's Geog. Herod. p. 240 & 1.

chain of history has not been preserved, the reigns of those monarchs, which were not distinguished by striking events, sunk irretrievably into the darkness of oblivion. In this undefined period, we shall mention some events drawn from another source, which throw light on a part of the Egyptian history, which must otherwise have been blotted out from the book of remembrance.

Soon after Solomon ascended the throne of his father, he married a daughter of the king of Egypt; but it is worthy of notice, that in all the glory of his reign, the extensive and long-famed kingdom of Egypt had neither part nor portion in the splendid pursuits of Solomon. Some articles of traffic appear to have passed from Egypt into Syria; but no artificers went from the kingdom of Pharaoh to assist Solomon in building the temple of Jerusalem. Where then were that excellence in the arts, and those high acquirements, which adorned Thebes, and gave splendour to Mem-

phis? Shall we conclude, that the glory of Egypt had fallen; and that luxury and disorder, or the recoiling waves of ignorance, had sunk it in the abyss of indolence and degradation. The deficiency of its annals at this advanced period of society, indicate a decay of arts and science. The artificers of Tyre joined with the builders of Solomon in rearing a structure, which was the pride of Israel, while the workmen of Egypt were lost in obscurity. The sailors of Solomon joined with the seamen of Hiram the king of Tyre, in wafting to the shores of their country the riches of distant nations; while no ship belonging to Egypt appears to have hoisted sail in the pursuit of trade.

When David stretched out the arm of his power over Edom, Hadad fled from the exterminating war, which was common in those ferocious days; and which Joab was conducting in all its terrors. The young fugitive, with some domestics of his father's house, threw

themselves under the protection of the Egyptian court, and there they were cherished according to their rank. Hadad married a sister of Taphines the queen of Egypt; and when he heard of King David's death, he hastened into Syria, and waited for an opportunity of regaining the possessions of his father, which had been violently taken away. But whether he was kept in awe by the power and fame of Solomon; whether the king of Egypt, who was the father-in-law of that sovereign, interposed his authority, or whether both of them united their influence, we are not enabled at this distance of time to determine; but Hadad appears to have pursued no decisive measures, till toward the end of Solomon's reign. Then having conquered a part of Syria, he joined with Rezon the lord of Damascus in disturbing the kingdom of Israel.

Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, a man of knowledge and fame, was raised to eminence in the house of Solomon.

While the crown flourished upon Solomon's head, and no ray of its glory had become dim, Jeroboam was a ready and obedient servant; but when Solomon's strength and power declined, the treachery of this servant quickly appeared. In the weakness of old age Solomon permitted the exercise of idol worship; the people were justly offended; and being given to change, they seized this opportunity of displaying a spirit of discontentment. The eye of Jeroboam, rolling in a frenzy of ambition, cast an eager look upon the kingdom of his master. To gratify this desire of authority, he blew into a flame the smothered embers of rebellion. His hopes were strengthened, and his ambition encouraged by the significant conduct of Ahijah. In an interview with that prophet, Ahijah took a new garment, with which Jeroboam was clothed, and rent it into twelve pieces. Ten of them he gave to the ambitious courtier, and set apart two for the house of David.

Thereby he gave Jeroboam to understand, that he should reign over ten tribes, and the son of Solomon over two. This transaction, and the views of Jeroboam, could not be concealed. The secret transpired, and the tidings reached the ears of the king. Jeroboam fled from the threatnings of punishment ; and, as the father-in-law of Solomon was dead, the fugitive took refuge in Egypt, and continued there till the throne of Jerusalem was vacant.

The news of this event were quickly carried to Egypt, and when the children of Israel were assembled at Shechem to choose a king, the artful and aspiring Jeroboam appeared amongst them at the head of the discontented party. In the form of a bill of rights, the redress of grievances was proposed ; but too much was required. Jeroboam rashly listened to the counsels of the young rather than to those of the experienced, and the proposals were wholly rejected. *To your tents O Israel*, was the general cry ; and

ten of the tribes made Jeroboam their king. The seat of his government was founded in Shechem; and Rehoboam reigned in Jerusalem over Judah and Benjamin, together with such detached parties of the other tribes as resided in his kingdom. To prevent the people from going up to worship at Jerusalem, lest their hearts might be again united to Judah, Jeroboam made two golden calves, in imitation of the Egyptian idolatry, and, as objects of religious worship, he set one of them up in Dan, and the other in Bethel.^a

B. C. 975.—In the 5th year of Rehoboam, Shishac, who then sat upon the throne of Egypt, went up with 1200 chariots of war, 60,000 horsemen, and infantry without number. He over-ran the whole land of Palestine, took the fenced cities of Judah, plundered the king's house, and spoiled the temple of

^a 1 Kings, ch. xi & xii; Joseph. Antiq. book viii, ch. ii & iii.

Jerusalem.^b Suddenly do we find nations changing their temper and conduct, according to the views and pursuits of those who enjoy the sovereign power. It appeared in the time of Solomon, that Egypt was in a state of inactivity and degradation, but now in the reign of his son its forces in hostile array spread terror and desolation. And again, in a short time, we shall see the Egyptians humbled, and their country exposed to the violence of a foreign enemy.

The next prince who demands our notice, is Sabachus the Ethiopian. The kingdom of Egypt was again distracted; vice and anarchy consumed its strength. In this state of weakness and confusion, Sabachus descended with hostile bands, and treated with severity the contending chiefs. But when he had obtained full possession of the throne, he laid aside the weapons of severity, and wielded the

^b 1 Kings, ch. xiv, v. 25, &c.

sceptre with humanity and discretion. Sabachus is supposed to have been the same king who, in the language of scripture, is denominated So. To him Hoshea the king of Samaria applied for aid and protection against Shalmanazer king of Assyria. The Assyrian monarch rose up in war against Hoshea, and easily reduced him to a tributary state. Hoshea feeling the degrading restraints of his condition, solicited the aid and friendship of the Egyptian king. Flushed with hopes of deliverance, he boldly withheld the annual tribute. The king of Assyria hastened to Samaria, but the Egyptian aid did not arrive. Hoshea was taken prisoner, and many of the people sent into banishment. It was at this time that Tobit the Hebrew was led captive to Nineveh, where he obtained favour from the king, and performed many deeds of compassion toward his enslaved and afflicted countrymen.^c

^c 2 Kings, ch. xvi; Tobit, ch. i.

Sabachus not being a native prince, appears to have been opposed by the Egyptian priests and nobles of the land. The king, indignant at their conduct, resolved to destroy the leaders; but the design transpired, and he was obliged to flee into Ethiopia. Such seems to be the general statement of the fact, though in the history of those times it is wrapt in fable, and thus represented. —The tutelar deity of Thebes informed him, in a dream, that he could not reign securely in Egypt till the priests were cut off from troubling him. He understood the suggestion, but abhorred the deed; and having revealed the vision to the sacred order, he retired to his native country.^d

Sevechus, or Sethon, after a short interval, took the reins of power without opposition, but he had neither the inclination nor abilities to govern. He had been consecrated a priest to Vulcan,

^d Herod. lib. ii, c. 137, &c.

and still preferred retirement and contemplation. He did not understand the value of the army, nor court their affections, but, on the contrary, deprived them of that portion of land which was the reward of their toils, and their support in peace. Having thus alienated the affections of the army, they deserted his standard, and he was unable to repel the hostile attacks of Sennacherib, the ambitious king of Assyria. This monarch over-ran Egypt, laid waste its most valuable provinces, and sent many of the people into exile. The sorrows and destruction which Egypt now endured are described by the prophet Nahum, and were held forth as a warning to the proud city of Nineveh. ‘ Art
‘ thou better than populous No-Amon,
or Thebes, ‘ that was situated among
‘ the rivers, that had the waters round
‘ about her : Ethiopia and Egypt were
‘ her strength ; Put and Lubim were
‘ her helpers, yet was she carried away,

‘ she went into captivity ; her young
‘ children also,’ according to the feroci-
ous conduct of the times, ‘ were dash-
‘ ed in pieces at the top of the streets ;
‘ they cast lots for her honourable men,
‘ and all her great men were bound in
‘ chains.’^f

Egypt was desolated both by Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, but the threatening now quoted must have alluded to the conquests of the former, for the judgment thus denounced was inflicted upon Nineveh in the reign of Josiah king of Judah : but Nebuchadnezzar did not invade Egypt till after the death of that prince, whereas Sennacherib visited that country with destruction a hundred years previous to that event. Moreover, this awful visitation in Egypt is ascribed, by Herodotus, to the army of Sennacherib.

That prince having spread such deso-

^f Nahum, ch. iii, v. 8, 9, &c.

lation over the higher parts of Egypt, returned to Pelusium: flushed with success, and confiding in his arms, he laid siege to the town with vigour and presumption. But here he experienced that disappointment, and such humiliating circumstances, as pride and arrogance are frequently compelled to endure. Being opposed by Tirhakah, the king of Ethiopia, who arrived with a numerous army, Sennacherib, struck with terror, raised the siege of Pelusium, and, with disappointment and rage, marched toward Jerusalem. On his way to Egypt he had received tribute from the king of Zion, and promised peace to the city; but in the movements of rage, he neither regarded justice nor vows. While he encamped by the way, bent upon destruction, the angel of the Lord visited the camp, and in one night 185,000 men were stretched lifeless upon the field. This event is spoken of in the Egyptian history, but disguised in its circumstances, and applied to the

deliverance of Sethon from the power of Sennacherib. That king, we are told, having been abandoned by the soldiers, whom he had injuriously treated, was directed by a vision to meet Sennacherib with the few and irregular troops, which he still had been able to retain. While he viewed with anxiety the circumstances of his lot, he saw little to expect, but destruction in its most terrible form. In this situation, however, surrounded with danger, and sinking in dismay, deliverance came when it was least expected. In the silence of the night, while the Assyrians slumbered in their tents, a host of rats gnawed in pieces the strings, thongs, and straps, of their bows, quivers, and shields. When the Assyrians awoke and examined their armour, they found themselves destitute of means either for attack or defence, and fled with terror toward their native land. In memory of this event, a statue was erected in the temple of Vulcan, holding in its hand a rat; and on the figure it was inscribed, 'Be-

‘ hold me, and reverence the Divinity.’^h

Whether Tirhakah were connected with the royal house of Egypt, or only a bold adventurer, we find that he ascended the throne of that country immediately upon the death of Sethon, and reigned for several years. Upon his demise, the bands of government were so weak, and the right to the crown so much disputed, that the country continued two years in a state of total anarchy. At the end of this period, twelve nobles of the state divided the kingdom, as we have already seen, into as many parts, and each of them undertook to govern a division. There was to be no pre-eminence attached to any situation, but a community of privileges and honours was to harmonize the public peace.

Tranquillity for a while was preserved, but this calm of equally divided power

^h Herod. lib. ii, c. 141.

was but the transient stillness of a tempestuous season. It gave an opportunity of arranging and putting into motion, those agents of discord which destroyed the balance and threw the whole into confusion. Circumstances in the situation or conduct of Psammeticus, who was one of the twelve, exposed him to the jealousy and designs of the rest. Performing a religious libation in a brazen helmet, instead of a golden bowl, it was immediately remarked, that though inadvertently, yet he had in reality, fulfilled an oracular prediction, which declared, that he of the twelve should be supreme who offered to the gods in a brazen vessel. To prevent the fulfilment of this declaration, his partners in the government banished him to the marshy and undrained parts of the Delta. But there, upon the sea-coast, he laid aside the prejudices of his country against strangers and sailors, and formed such connections with Greece and Phœnicia as greatly increased his power.

Thus he was enabled to suppress his enemies, and by their downfall to become the sole monarch of the Egyptian kingdom.

Such seems to be the fable ; but the probability is, that his station having been upon the shore, he grew rich by commerce, and acquired such connections with foreign nations, as were productive of power and reciprocal advantage. It was now that the Greeks first obtained a commercial settlement in Egypt, which was upon the branch of the Nile near Pelusium. He introduced foreigners into his army to suppress the licentiousness and disorder which frequently recurring periods of anarchy unavoidably produced. Prejudiced against foreigners, and jealous of the favour they obtained from the king, a multitude of Egyptian soldiers left the camp of their sovereign, abandoned their country, and settled in Ethiopia.

CHAP. II.

Psammeticus. . . . The king of Assyria. . . . Pharaoh Necho. . . . The Jews led captive. . . . Psammis the king of Egypt. . . . Nebuchadnezzar's victories in that country.

B. C. 670. **P**SAMMETICUS was the son of an Egyptian prince whom Saba-
bachus at his accession had put to death; but through difficulties and dangers the son gradually ascended the throne of his country, and reigned in full sway over the kingdom of Egypt. From the connection which subsisted between the two countries, the affairs of Egypt were much known in Greece; and from the Grecian annals, the history of Egypt may now be placed in a more accurate and lucid train. From the east a great and accumulated power now bent with threatening majesty toward Egypt. Sennacherib, from his defeat in Judea, re-

turned to Nineveh with a spirit of chagrin and vengeance. Mad with disappointment and rage, he was not only cruel toward the captive Israelites ; but he was so intolerably fierce and vindictive, that his sons conspired against him and slew him in the temple of Nisroch his god.ⁱ Evarhaddon succeeded his father ; and in a time of anarchy at Babylon, added the kingdom of Chaldea to that of Assyria. Rising on the wings of power, he hastened westward to retrieve what his father had lost. Soon he subdued Syria, and over-ran Samaria, which was beginning to rebel against Assyria. Then he directed his course to Jerusalem, took its king, Manasseh, captive, and left him in the state of a tributary prince.

These increasing movements could not be tamely observed by the king of Egypt. Nothing intervened between his empire and the powerful dominions

ⁱ 2 Kings xix, v. 37.

of Assyria, but the small district of Palestine, and it too was subject by tribute to the Assyrian king. To rescue that province from the eastern monarch, and to place it as a barrier against his increasing power, were objects of high importance to Psammeticus. Therefore he laid siege to Azotus, or Ashdod; but there he met with a desperate resistance, for it was formerly a strong hold of the Philistines; had lately been completely fortified, and it cost Psammeticus 29 years to reduce it. About this time the Scythians had rushed down like a torrent upon Asia Minor; and stood in a threatening attitude toward Egypt. But Psammeticus was a wise as well as a warlike prince. His kingdom being much exhausted in strength, and himself far advanced in years, he had recourse to negociation, and not to arms. Thus the Scythians and he remained in peace. Having performed these and many other illustrious deeds, Psammeticus died in the 54th year of his reign.

B. C. 617.—Necho, who, in the language of Scripture, is called Pharaoh Necho, succeeded his father on the throne of Egypt. The spirit of commerce and adventure, which had appeared in the reign of the late king, was cherished by his son and brought into vigorous action. The Phœnicians had long been a people of commercial enterprize, and the cities of Tyre and Sidon had grown rich by traffic. Engaging in his service sailors of Phœnicia, Necho fitted out a fleet, which sailed down the Arabian gulf, passed through the straits of Babelmandel, coasted round the south and west of Africa, and, in the third year, sailing up the Mediterranean, arrived in Egypt.

The strength of the eastern nations continued to excite emotions of jealousy, and Necho was desirous of humbling their power. To repel their incursions, his father had passed into Judea, but Necho bent his course to more distant parts, and aimed a more extensive blow.

About this time Nineveh was destroyed, and its strength absorbed in the empire of Babylon. The king of Chaldea, being then also king of Assyria, united with his interest the empire of the Medes, by having his son Nebuchadnezzar married to the grand-daughter of Cyaxares. In this united condition, these princes were formidable to their neighbours, and particularly obnoxious to the Egyptian king. To meet them in the field of battle, Pharaoh Necho, with a powerful army, marched toward the Euphrates, and as he must pass through the borders of Judah, Josiah king of Jerusalem went out to oppose his progress.

Notwithstanding the declarations of Necho, that he intended to pass through their country in a pacific manner, yet Josiah was alarmed, and went out to give him battle. They met at Magdolus, or Megiddo, where the king of Jerusalem was slain. The diversified injuries which so great an army might have done in passing through his territories, would

have formed an excuse for the opposition of Josiah, but he is further vindicated by his situation as a tributary king, for so the kings of Jerusalem had been since the restoration of Manasseh. Thus he was bound by compact and duty to oppose the enemies of his eastern master. Josiah was a good king, and all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for his death. The sons and daughters of music lifted up the voice of lamentation ; and it was an ordinance in Israel to mourn for Josiah on stated occasions.^k

Necho, glorying in his victory, marched with speed toward Babylon, and took the large and important city of Carchemish ; having erected his standard on the walls, and placed a garrison in the city, he returned in a short time towards Egypt. But finding, as he passed through Judea, that Jehoaz, the son of the late king, had, without his permission, assumed the government, he

^k 2 Chron. ch. xxxv, v. 20, &c.

commanded that prince to appear before him at Riblah, where he cast him into chains, and carried him captive into Egypt. His brother Eliakiam was left tributary king of Jerusalem, but his name was changed to Jehoiakam.

Nabopolasser, the king of Babylon and Assyria, being old and incapable of pursuing the active measures of his government, associated with himself upon the throne his son and heir Nebuchadnezzar. This young prince retook Carchemish, and drove the Egyptians from the banks of the Euphrates. He pursued them to Jerusalem, entered that city, and made Jehoiakim the king his prisoner. He put him in chains, and would have carried him to Babylon, but upon his submission and prayer, he received his oath of fealty, and left him in possession of the kingdom.

But many of the people were carried away captive, and amongst these was the royal youth Daniel, who rose to such distinction at the court of Babylon. Ne-

buchadnezzar extended his victories over Syria as well as Judea, and threatened Egypt at the gates of Pelusium. When the young king of Babylon had returned home, Jehoiakim revolted, and renewed his alliance with Necho king of Egypt. Upon this the confederates of Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, and having taken Jehoiakim prisoner, they put him to death, and left his body unburied without the gates of the city. About this time Pharaoh Necho died, and his son Psammis was acknowledged king of Egypt.

B. C. 606.—It was in the reign of Psammis that Nebuchadnezzar came up again to besiege Jerusalem, and took it. At this time Jehoiachin was reigning in the stead of his father, who had been put to death, and he humbled himself by intreaty before the proud king of Babylon. But he kissed the ground with no advantage to himself, his family, or his country, except it be deemed a favour that he was not murdered like his fa-

ther, but shut up in prison at Babylon for the space of 37 years. Notwithstanding the numbers which were at this time and formerly sent captives to Babylon, there were still many inhabitants left in the country to cultivate the fields. Over them Nebuchadnezzar made Mataniah, son of Josiah, and uncle of Jehoiachin, tributary king; and in memorial of his dependence, his name was changed to Zedekiah. In the 5th year of this prince's reign, Psammis the king of Egypt died, while he was conducting an expedition against the Ethiopians.

B. C. 594.—His son Apries, or Pharaoh Hophra, sat down upon the throne of Egypt, and the commencement of his reign was prosperous. He made a successful attack upon Cyprus, took possession of Sidon, and added Phœnicia and Palestine to his kingdom; but he soon suffered a reverse of fortune. Zedekiah, dissatisfied with his situation, broke the vow of fidelity which he had made to Nebuchadnezzar, and relied for assist-

ance upon the king of Egypt. Hophra came out with a mighty host, but he could not stand before the king of Babylon. Here began the sorrows of Apries ; but the cup of his affliction was not full till it was mixed with the dregs of the Cyrenian war: Battus III, of Cyrenaica, supported by some auxiliary Greeks, extended his conquests, and attempted to expel the Lybians from their native country. They requested aid from the Egyptian king, and their request was readily granted ; but the army of Egypt was routed and almost cut to pieces.

The haughtiness of Hophra's conduct had previously given his subjects disgust ; and they were now of opinion that he had led the flower of their countrymen to destruction, that in the day of national weakness he might rivet the chains which he had already forged. Under these impressions, there was discontent at home, and rebellion in the army. Apries sent to the camp one

of his confidential servants, and ordered him to restore discipline and obedience, but no sooner did he appear among the soldiers, than they placed a helmet for a crown upon his head, and with the acclamations of joy hailed him king. The rebellious spirit increased till Hophra, to avoid the bursting of the storm, sheltered his unprotected head in the retirements of Upper Egypt.

For twelve years had Nebuchadnezzar carried on the siege of Tyre, which was the emporium of trade, and the queen of the seas. Her merchants in point of splendour rivalled the princes of the earth; and her pride was on record among the nations. When Nebuchadnezzar was securing the destruction of the city, the inhabitants were building a retreat for themselves on the banks of an adjoining island. Thither they removed themselves and their effects; and when Tyre fell, it was a forsaken and an empty city. Having suffered so much during a long and pain-

ful siege, the king of Babylon cast his eyes upon Egypt, that with its riches and splendour he might reward the toils, and alleviate the disappointment, of his war-worn soldiers. The distractions of that country presented an opportunity; and entering Egypt at Migdol, which was a fortress near Pelusium, he over-ran the country to Siene; thus scouring it from Palestine to the borders of Ethiopia. Satiated with plunder and destruction, he returned, and left Amasis a tributary king.

In this desolated state of the country, Apries left the place of his concealment, and, having collected a body of troops, engaged Amasis in battle, near the city of Memphis. Having been vanquished, he was taken prisoner, and remaining for a while in confinement, was at length put to death. It has already been observed, that Zedekiah king of Judah had revolted from Nebuchadnezzar; and thus he drew down upon himself and his kingdom the high displeasure of

that powerful prince. Jerusalem was again plundered ; and at Riblah, in the presence of Zedekiah, his sons and many lords of his court were slain. Having been compelled to behold this cruel and affecting scene, the eyes of Zedekiah were put out ; and being carried to Babylon, he was kept in prison till he died. The city and temple of Jerusalem were burned ; and the more distinguished of the people were either enslaved or put to death. Gedaliah was made governor of the province, and had the direction of the people, who were left to be vine-dressers and husbandmen.^a

Those who had concealed themselves in the day of trouble appeared when the tumult was over, put Gedaliah to death, who was perhaps obnoxious for his severity, and then they fled into Egypt. The prophet Jeremiah forbade them to trust to the protection of Pharaoh ; but they refused to obey his re-

^a 2 Kings, ch. xxv, v. 22 ; Jer. ch. lii, ver. 15, &c.

quest. When Egypt was desolated by the king of Babylon, these fugitive Israelites were peculiarly obnoxious to his displeasure ; and they suffered all the afflictions which Jeremiah had declared would come upon them. The desolated condition of Egypt did not permit that country to give effectual aid to the Jews ; but on every occasion to ‘ *trust in the shadow of Egypt was confusion,*’ and the staff of Pharaoh was but a reed.^c The alliance of Jerusalem had been sought by the Egyptians, that Palestine might be a barrier and protection against the influx of eastern power ; but Egypt, as in the present instance, was not always able to grant relief ; and as she sought her own interest alone, it was not advisable to provoke the eastern powers.

Ezekiel, of the house of Aaron, was a captive in Babylon, along with Jehoiakim ; and there, in a stile of true sublimity and awful grandeur, he fore-

^c Isaiah, ch. xxx, v. 3 ; Ezek. ch. xxix, v. 6 & 7.

told some great and interesting events. Among these was the downfall of Egypt; and this he announced in language of glowing imagery and poetic fire: *‘ Thus saith the Lord ; behold I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon, that lieth in the midst of his rivers ; who hath said, my river is mine, and I have made it for myself. But I will put hooks in thy jaws, and cause the fish of thy rivers to stick to thy scales : and I will bring thee up out of the midst of thy rivers, and leave thee in the wilderness. Thus saith the Lord God, I will make the multitude of Egypt to cease by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon.’^b ‘ Son of man, speak unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, and say, ‘ whom art thou like in thy greatness ; behold the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon, the fir-trees were not like his boughs, nor was any tree in the garden of God like unto him. But I delivered him*

^b Ezek. c. xxix, v. 3, &c.

*' into the hand of the mighty, and the terrible
' nations cut him off. Thus shalt thou also
' be brought down, even Pharaoh, and all
' his multitude, saith the Lord.'*^e

In a further diversity of pointed allusions, he shews the impending ruin of Egypt, by the figure of darkness in the firmament of God. *' When I shall put
' thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make
' the stars thereof dark. I will veil the sun
' with a cloud, and the moon shall not give
' her light.'* To increase the horror, and shew the frightfulness, of the scene, Pharaoh Hophra, or Apries, is led in vision to the mansions of the dead. There, in the caves and vaults of their respective sepulchres, he beholds Asher and Elam, Edom and the princes of the north, with their lords and attendants, laid in their silent abodes. The Egyptian king, with all his multitude, shall be laid with them who are slain by the sword. To sum up the whole, *' there shall be no more a*

^e Ezekiel, ch. xxxi.

‘ prince of the land of Egypt.’ The arm of Pharaoh is broken ; and it shall not be made whole, nor strengthened *‘ to hold the sword.’*^f How truly and how awfully these threatenings have been realized, the succeeding history of Egypt abundantly shews.

As there are certain diseases of the human frame which baffle medicine, and defy the renovating power of the constitution, so there are vices in the body politic which corrupt the whole mass, and hurl it unavoidably into ruin. Such was the alarming condition of Egypt, when Pharaoh Hophra swayed the sceptre. The destruction which consequently visited that country, and the judgments which are inflicted upon nations deeply corrupt, are the necessary effects of the destroying power and inevitable tendency of incurable guilt.

In reviewing the threatenings which were denounced, and executed upon

^f Ezek. ch. xxxi & xxxii, and ch. xxx, v. 13 & 21.

Egypt, we cannot but admire the Scriptures, which convey important truths in so sublime a form. While they enlighten the mind they improve the heart, and ascribe every event to God, as the Author and Lord of all. Shall we refrain to produce in their favour a high and valuable testimony, by the learned and respectable Sir William Jones.

‘ Theological inquiries are no part of
‘ my present subject; but I cannot re-
‘ frain from adding, that the collection
‘ of tracts, which we call, from their
‘ excellence, the Scriptures, contain, in-
‘ dependently of a divine origin, more
‘ true sublimity, more exquisite beauty,
‘ purer morality, more important histo-
‘ ry, and finer strains, both of poetry
‘ and eloquence, than could be collect-
‘ ed, within the same compass, from all
‘ the books that were ever composed,
‘ in any age or in any idiom. The two
‘ parts of which the scriptures consist
‘ are connected by a chain of composi-
‘ tion which bears no resemblance, in

‘ form, or stile, to any which can be
‘ produced from the stores of Grecian,
‘ Indian, Persian, or even Arabian,
‘ learning. The antiquity of those com-
‘ positions no man doubts; and the un-
‘ restrained application of them to
‘ events, long subsequent to their publi-
‘ cation, is a solid ground of belief that
‘ they were genuine productions, and
‘ consequently inspired.”^b

If ever these precious relicts have been undervalued, it has been through prejudice founded on error, or from ignorance of eastern manners and eastern style. The thoughts and language of ancient times are not to be measured by modern rules. There is a manner of thought and expression peculiar to every language, age, and nation; therefore to judge of the Scriptures we must comprehend the idiom of the language in which they were written, and the mode of thinking peculiar to the people among

^b Asiatic researches, vol. iii, p. 15.

whom they were composed, as well as the history of the nations with which they are connected. In conformity to the eastern mode of communicating knowledge, the scriptures abound with metaphors, but, in the language of Sir William Jones, ‘not with that sort of allegory which rhetoricians describe as a mere assemblage of metaphors, but in the symbolical mode of writing, adopted by eastern sages, to embellish and dignify historical truth.’^b It is therefore necessary, in order to form a correct opinion of the Scriptures, not only that the mind be enlightened by diversified knowledge, but also that it be unsophisticated, free from every improper bias, and possessed of an honest and pious desire to discover truth and admire its importance.

But to return to the condition of Egypt, Amasis reigned amongst its ruins

^b Asiatic researches, vol. iii, p. 184.

several years ; and to recover its former glory he adopted wise regulations ; repaired many injuries which had been done ; and kept a correspondence with the Greeks. To prevent idleness, and maintain order, he required every person in the state to shew, by a register, how he lived, and from what resources he derived his support. Solon about this time visited Egypt ; and, having admired this arrangement, he introduced a similar regulation at Athens. Thus the court of Areopagus inquired into the conduct of the citizens, and punished those who lived in idleness, or pursued no honourable employment.

Alfred the Great, of England, upon his accession to the throne, found the country so irregular and licentious, that he pursued similar measures to restore order and produce security. He divided the whole kingdom into counties ; the counties into hundreds, consisting of as many families ; and the hundreds into tythings, each consisting of ten fami-

lies. Thus the householders were accountable to the tythings; the tythings to the hundreds; the hundreds to the counties; and the counties to the government.

About 530 years before Christ, the celebrated Cyrus died, and his son Cambyses, known in Scripture by the name of Ahasuerus, ascended the throne of Persia. Scarcely had he grasped the reins of government, when he resolved to make war upon the kingdom of Egypt. Different reasons have been assigned for this hasty and important resolution; but the true cause remains in darkness.

It is mentioned in history, that Cyrus subdued Egypt; and if Amasis, as a tributary king, threw off his dependence when Cyrus died; the young and ambitious mind of Cambyses might be roused to action, and speedy revenge. The armies of Persia and Egypt met at Pelusium; but the arms of Cambyses were victorious; and the whole of Egypt

yielded to his power.^f Before this event Amasis had paid the debt of nature ; and his eyes beheld not the miseries of the kingdom. His son and successor, Bammenitus, was put to death ; and the steps of Cambyses were marked with blood. Thus Egypt fell : no independent native prince bound up its wounds ; but the tyranny of Persia oppressed the people.

^f Just. lib. i, c. 9, edit. 12mo, Hagæ 1663.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Cambyzes. . . . His attempt on Ethiopia and the temple of Jupiter Ammon. . . . His cruel and imprudent conduct in Egypt. . . . His death Of Darius and Xerxes. . . . Of Amyrteus, Pansiris, Psammeticus, Nephereus, Achoris, Psammuthis, Tachos, and Nectanebus, on the throne of Egypt.

CAMBYSES had now added to the empire of Persia a rich and extensive country. He had blotted out from the list of independent nations, a monarchy of high antiquity, and proud of its race of ancient kings. By his far spreading power he had destroyed the glory of

Egypt ; but he had not satisfied his own ambition. In this temper of mind he projected expeditions against Carthage, the Ammonians, and the people of Ethiopia. The first of these designs he was obliged to abandon, because the people of Phœnicia, upon whom he depended for naval aid, refused to lift a spear against the Carthaginians. The people of that colony were descended from Phœnicia, and the blood of Tyre flowed in their veins. But his own armies were entirely at his command, and them he instantly put in motion. To gain information, and prepare the way, he sent spies into Ethiopia ; but he loaded them with presents, and dignified them with the name of ambassadors. The disguise, however, was too thin to conceal from the Ethiopian king the real intention of their arrival. Frowning with disdain, he delivered to the spies an Ethiopian bow, commanding them to give it to their master, and forbid him to attempt an invasion, till the men of Persia could

bend that bow, with as much ease as the warriors of Ethiopia could do.

It is difficult to conceive how the inhabitants of a tropical climate could boast of more strength and martial vigour than the men of Persia, who lived in a more temperate climate, and who were much accustomed to exercise and arms. Some of the ancient nations of Africa are represented as having shot with bows four cubits long, and which required the use of their feet to discharge the arrows.^b But still the difficulty recurs, and without pretending to solve it, a peculiar practice of an Ethiopian nation may be produced for consideration. The people of that country are much devoted to the chase, and in memorial of their dexterity, they put upon their bows a ring, made from the skin of every animal which they destroy, till the bow be so stiff as scarcely to be bent. It is then hung upon a tree, and

^b Ren. Geog. Herod. p. 254.

with every warrior such a bow is laid in the grave. To give a frightful idea of the national strength, and to deter the Persians from appearing in his kingdom, might not the prince of Ethiopia deliver such a bow to the spies of Cambyses, and accompany the gift with haughty and contemptuous language?^a

The conduct of the Ethiopian king was ill suited to the feelings of Cambyses, whose mind was haughty and flushed with success. In the violence of disappointment he ordered his army to march, and took few precautions for the wants and necessities of the journey. When he arrived at Thebes, he dispatched 50,000 men toward the temple of Jupiter Ammon, with orders to plunder and destroy it. Scarcely had they travelled a few days when the whirlwind blew, and raised those rapid moving pillars of sand, which are the terror of travellers, and the scourge of the Afri-

^a Bruce, vol. ii, p. 561, &c.

can deserts. Under these vast bodies of sand the troops of Cambyses were buried, and the mad project was left unfinished. In raising those masses of sand, as well as in the formation of water spouts, electricity appears to be a principal agent. The rarified column of air permits the sand to rise like mercury in a tube, and the pressure being unequal on all sides, a whirling motion ensues. Mr. Bruce, upon his return from Abyssinia toward Egypt, saw some of those destructive pillars moving with rapidity, but he fortunately escaped them. M. Denon and some of his companions were overtaken by the whirlwind, which without any sand is dangerous and destructive. They felt a sense of suffocation; the air seemed to have lost its motion; the sun was stripped of its rays, and clothed in a pale, but frightful red. The surrounding objects did not appear in their proper colour; the flocks fled from the approach of the wind; and the birds flew from its terror. Denon and

his associates were on the banks of the Nile, and they plunged into the river to avoid the pernicious vapour, but their precaution was in vain. It seemed to enter into the very waters; the streams rose in billows, and the bottom of the river moved under their feet.^d All these appearances indicate electricity; and they are generally accompanied with lightning and thunder.

Though nothing completely disastrous befel the army which Cambyses in person led into Ethiopia, yet they suffered unspeakable hardships from hunger and thirst; and being weakened by misfortunes, the expedition was unsuccessful. Cambyses returned to Thebes, but giddy with the ferment of disappointment, he returned but to increase his infamy. Instead of attempting to gain the affections of the Egyptians, he wounded their prejudices, and treated them with rigour. He pillaged their temples, profaned

^d Denon, vol. ii, p. 327.

whatever they deemed sacred, and with his own hand plunged a dagger into their god Apis, which filled the nation with horror. His cruelties at home and abroad rendered his name hateful ; and he seemed to delight in blood. As an instance of wanton cruelty, he aimed an arrow at a youth of the court ; and to shew his dexterity, declared it should penetrate the heart. The body being opened, he shewed with an exulting boast, how cruelly he had taken the aim. The father of the youth, with cowardice, and dastardly fawning, looked, and commended the dexterity of the king. How unlike is this to the conduct of that bold and intrepid Swiss patriot William Tell ? Being commanded by a tyrant to split an apple with an arrow, upon the head of his own son, he did as he was required, and did it with safety ; but he shewed an arrow which remained in his quiver, and told the monster, whom he had obeyed, that if his trembling hand had misgiven, and put to death his son,

that arrow would have been drenched in the heart's blood of the tyrant.

When Cambyses was abroad on this expedition, he was afraid of the rising power and popularity of his brother Smerdis; and, therefore, he sent a messenger to the court of Persia, with private orders to have him destroyed. But being still anxious about the affairs of Persia, he left Aryander governor of Egypt, and hastened to the palace of Shushan. As he drew nigh the city, he met a herald assembling the people to acknowledge and obey Smerdis the new king. A mixture of passions agitated the soul of Cambyses, and shook his whole frame. Apprehending that the messenger sent to destroy his brother had acted with duplicity, and preserved him alive, he was distracted with rage, fear, and despair. But finding that his brother in reality was dead, and that Smerdis upon the throne was one of the Magi, who, in the secrecy of an eastern court, had been artfully substituted for his

brother, he was now bent upon punishment and revenge. Eagerly mounting his horse, to rush into the field of revenge, his thigh was accidentally wounded by his own sword, which had been shaken from its scabbard; and the wound mortifying, occasioned his death.^b

B. C. 522.—Thus died Cambyses after a short reign, and not one of his subjects shed a tear upon his tomb. If Cambyses had cultivated wisdom and moderation, he might have sat upon the throne of Persia with safety and honour. From the palace of Shushan he might have diffused over his empire the blessings of protection and peace; but he was the prey of ambition, and the victim of inhumanity. Impatient of controul, he was rash in his proceedings, jealous in his temper; he was vindictive in his conduct, and deficient in all those virtues which constitute the character of an exalted prince. The proceedings of

^b Herod. lib. iii, c. 1, &c.

Cambyzes drew aside the veil of deceit, which till then covered the usurpation of Smerdis; and a party was formed which overthrew his schemes, and placed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, upon the throne of the kingdom. He swayed the sceptre over the most rich and powerful empire which till then ever assumed a regular shape. Assyria and Chaldea, Egypt and Media, Lydia and Lesser Asia, together with the flourishing city of Tyre, were all included within its bounds. He reigned with justice and moderation; and carried into effect the decree of Cyrus, which permitted the children of Israel to return from Babylon, directed the temple of Jerusalem to be rebuilt, and ordered the polity of the Jewish state to be restored.

Babylon, which fell before Cyrus, revolted from Darius; but the people were reduced to subjection, and the city was made a perpetual desolation. Against the Scythians Darius had no success; but he fitted out a fleet in the In-

dus, which sailed in safety down its streams, entered the Southern ocean, returned through the straits of Babel-mandel, and at the end of thirty months landed in Egypt. Considering this expedition, we have reason to believe the account which has been recorded of Pharaoh Necho's fleet. Many such coasting expeditions happened in early times. The Phœnicians traded to Britain for tin; and the fleets of Solomon visited distant shores.

Persia was involved in war with the states of Greece, and completely defeated at the battle of Marathon. When Darius was meditating revenge upon Greece, his attention was called towards Egypt, where a desire appeared of regaining the national independence. But while the king of Persia was preparing to humble Greece, and chastise Egypt, he was arrested by the hand of death, and the crown devolved upon Xerxes, the eldest of the sons which were born to

him by the daughter of Cyrus the Great.

B.C. 485.—No sooner was Xerxes constituted king of Persia than he began to prepare for the execution of those designs which had occupied the last thoughts of his father. Order being re-established in Egypt, his brother Achemenides was made governor of that unsettled and important province. His views were now directed toward Greece, and he employed the forces of Egypt to assist him in subduing its influence and power. But after a variety of public disasters, he abandoned himself to the pursuits of vice, and was murdered in his own palace. Artabanes, the captain of the guard, butchered the king, that he might reign, in his stead, but various obstacles sprung up in the bloody path which he trod. Artaxerxes, the third son of the late king, was invested with the royal power; but his way to the throne was also stained, and that with the blood of a father and a brother.

Discovering the murders of Artabanes, and detesting his treachery and bloody deeds, Artaxerxes arrested him in his career, and put him to death.

B. C. 473.—Artaxerxes, whom historians have surnamed Longimanus, was now king of Persia, but there were dangers abroad as well as enemies at home. The current of success continued to flow against the Persians in Greece; and Egypt was again attempting to shake off the yoke of foreign power. The people solicited aid from the Athenians, and chose for their leader and king Inarus the prince of Lybia. To oppose these movements Artaxerxes raised an army of 300,000 men, and placed it under the command of his brother Achemenides.^c The Athenians in the interest of Egypt overcame the Persians at sea, and sailed into a branch of the Nile. Acting in concert with the Egyptians, they attacked the army of Persia, slew

^c Prideaux, lib. 5, vol. ii, p. 6.

their general Achemenides, and left dead upon the field many thousands of his men. The rest fled to Memphis, and till reinforcements arrived from Persia, they defended themselves in a strong part of the town. The tide of affairs now turned against the Egyptians; and, Inarus with his army submitted to the Persians. The Egyptians who were taken in battle were treated as rebels; but the rest stipulated expressly, at their surrender, that they should be treated as prisoners, and not put to death. The resolution and courage of the Greeks procured them honourable terms of surrender. Thus Egypt, after a bloody struggle of several years, sunk again under the oppression of the Persians. We have observed that Achemenides, the brother of Artaxerxes, was slain in the Egyptian wars, and the queen mother demanded vengeance for her son. Her far spreading wrath included in the vow of destruction prince Inarus, and the whole of the Egyptian prisoners: but

the faith of Megabysus, who had taken them in war, was pledged for their safety; and the law of nations, joined to the principles of humanity had drawn around them the protection of united strength. But as the rock which repels with disdain the proud dashings of the raging billows, is gradually worn by the constant ooziings of the dropping bank, so Artaxerxes, with the firmness of a prince, and the feelings of man, resisted for a while the attempts of his mother, but at last was overcome, and the prisoners were led forth to death, but Inarus to crucifixion.

Megabysus, wounded in his honour, as well as in his feelings, retired into Syria, where he erected the standard of rebellion. Repeatedly, but in vain, did Artaxerxes attempt to overcome him; and he was induced to effect by promises and treaty, what he could not accomplish by force. Artaxerxes died after a reign of considerable length; and his character may be thus shortly expressed.

—It is a compound of firmness and irresolution; a mixture of weakness and virtuous inclination, including a desire of doing good, frequently rendered abortive by the feebleness of the foundation upon which it rested. Artaxerxes had many sons, but only one by his queen; for in Persia as well as in Abyssinia, and other places in the east, there may be many concubines, or inferior wives, but only one who, by the laws of the country, could be held in chief honour.^d The queen's son, who was called Xerxes, succeeded his father, but his reign was only a few weeks; for, upon a festival day, when he returned to his chamber, overcome with wine, he was murdered by his brother Sogdianus. This unfeeling youth wrenched the sceptre from the grasp of the dying king; but was soon in his turn deprived of sovereign power. Ochus, one of his brothers, rose

^d Esther, ch. ii, v. 17; Tennant's Indian Recreations, vol. i, p. 312.

up against him with a powerful army; and the attending multitude proclaimed him king. Sogdianus sued for mercy, and crouched with dastardly submission, but the triumphant Ochus put him to death.

B. C. 423.—Ochus assumed the name of Darius, but because he was the son of a concubine, he is called in history Darius Nothus, or the bastard. In this feeble state of Persia, shaken to its foundations by provincial revolts and bloody changes, Amyrteus, who lurked in the fens of the Delta in Egypt, took courage in this state of public affairs, and openly appeared with numerous attendants: multitudes flocked to his standard; and he was publicly saluted king.

B. C. 414.—In the midst of his successes he drove the Persians out of Egypt, and pursued them to Phoenicia. Here he was joined by the Arabians, who were jealous of the Persian power; but Darius collecting a numerous army

defeated Amyrteus, and dispersed his confederates.

B. C. 407.—Amyrteus died after a short reign, and his son Pausiris was admitted to the throne. This transaction received the seeming approbation of the Persians, either because they were unable to prevent or overturn it ; or, intending to govern the Egyptians by a tributary king, they indulged them with a shadow of power, that they might retain for the Persian monarch both the chief command and influence in the state. Here we may mention the death of Darius Nothus, who was succeeded by his son Arsaces, but known in history by the name of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

B. C. 401.—Upon the death of Pausiris, Psammeticus was raised to the kingdom of Egypt, and he was the more acceptable, because he was descended from the ancient royal house of that name. But his reign was marked by many acts of infamy, ingratitude, and oppression ;

and fortunately for the Egyptians it was of short duration.*

B. C. 395—Nephereus was next placed upon the Egyptian throne; and to him the Lacedæmonians applied for succour against the power and vengeance of the Persian arms. The Grecians had exposed themselves to the enmity of Persia, by assisting Cyrus in his rebellious movements against his brother Artaxerxes Mnemon. They had suffered much in the field of battle, and the remainder with difficulty were conducted home, by the skill and assiduity which Xenophon displayed in the famous retreat of the 10,000 Greeks. But still the Persians pursued the Grecians with hatred; who, fearing the vengeance of that country, requested aid from the people of Lacedæmon, at that time looked up to as the masters of Greece. Not mindful of the obliga-

* Diod. Siculus, vol. i, p. 477, &c.

tions under which they lay to the Persians, for aiding them against the Athenians, they attended to the allurements of ambition and power, and granted the assistance which the Grecian cities required.

Influenced by the remembrance of past injuries, as well as the hope of future security, the armies and the granaries of Egypt were lavished in the cause of Lacedæmon. A hundred gallies were sent by Nephereus to join the vessels of the Spartan admiral; and the Egyptians carried with them 600,000 bushels of corn for the service of the fleet and armies. Conceiving Rhodes to be in possession of the Lacedæmonians, they sailed for the ports of that island; but found, on their arrival, that it was in the power of Persia; and thus they were deprived of their provisions, and prevented from giving the Lacedæmonians effectual aid.

B. C. 389.—Achoris in the meantime succeeded to the throne of Egypt; and

he also opposed the Persian power. When Teucer returned from Troy, and then fled from his native country Salamis, he arrived in Cyprus, and built a city, which in remembrance of his father's island, was called Salamis.^b There the race of Teucer reigned till an usurper drove them from the throne, and placed it under the protection of Persia. Evagoras, a son of the late king, was fired with indignation at the state of his affairs, and by wisdom and bravery, he recovered the possession of his father's inheritance; but Artaxerxes, the king of Persia, was enraged at the loss of Cyprus, and took speedy measures to wrest it from the young prince.

The power and tyranny of Persia had produced it a multitude of foes; and they watched with eagerness for a favourable opportunity of humbling its strength. Tyre, Lybia, Egypt, and other countries, were ready to assist the king of Cyprus.

^b Hor. lib. i, ode 7; Lucan, lib. iii, p. 183.

From Egypt he had a supply of ships, money, and corn; but still being in want of strength, he sailed in person to Egypt, to obtain if possible additional aid. As Egypt was constantly threatened by Persia, on the borders of Syria, Achoris durst not withdraw his troops, and send them to Cyprus. In this situation of affairs Evagoras was obliged to make peace, and could only retain Salamis as a tributary kingdom to the government of Persia.

Artaxerxes being now in profound peace returned to his favourite pursuit, and resolved upon reducing Egypt to more complete subjection; but the storm which was gathering in Persia, and ready to burst upon the land of Egypt, was observed by Achoris, and he was prepared for its arrival. To the forces of Egypt were added powerful auxiliaries from Greece; and he stood in a proud attitude of defence. Animosities among the generals, and slowness in the preparations of Persia, allowed yet

two whole years to pass, before the expedition to Egypt was ready. During which time Achoris increased his strength, and waited for their reception. But while he was thus watching over the interests of his country, his eyes were closed in death.

Psammuthis succeeded him in the kingdom, but his reign was finished in one year; and Nepherites, who followed in the government, scarcely survived his elevation four months.

B. C. 375.—Nectanebus was now called to the throne of Egypt, while the Persian expedition was ready to descend upon the country. A powerful army of 200,000 Persians, under the command of Pharnabazus, and 20,000 Greeks led by Iphicrates, met in full array, on the coast of Palestine. Two hundred ships, and three hundred galleys lay at anchor; and the whole forces were put in motion at once. Pelusium was the first object of their destination, and at the same time it was to be assail-

ed both by sea and land. But the Egyptians had been active, notwithstanding the rapid changes upon the throne ; and Pelusium defied the combined forces of the enemy.

Turning toward the Mendesian branch of the Nile, where little danger was apprehended, and little preparation made, the Persians found easy access. It was proposed by Iphicrates, the general of the Greeks, that they should march immediately to Memphis, and invest the city, while it was unprepared for defence ; but Pharnabasus the Persian leader refused to proceed, and waited for the arrival of additional troops. While the Persians paused, the Egyptians assiduously concentrated their forces, and prevented the Persians from renewing their movements, till the overflowing of the Nile compelled them to leave the country, and retire into Phœnicia. Ashamed of this retreat, the generals inveighed against one another, and each, with the keenest invectives, recriminated

his colleague. Thus jealousy delivered Egypt, and disappointed Persia; and thus combined forces are often broken, which would otherwise be the scourge of freedom, and the overthrow of independence.

B. C. 363.—The affairs of Egypt were now under the management of Tachos, a newly appointed sovereign, and, like his predecessors, his chief care was to oppose the Persians. As an alliance still subsisted between Egypt and Lacedæmon, he obtained the interest and personal services of Agesilaus king of Sparta. Agesilaus was the most celebrated general of the age in which he lived; and he was expected in Egypt with the utmost impatience. When his fleet approached the shore, the people ran in crowds to see and admire him. Agesilaus set his foot on shore, but his appearance disappointed the high wrought hopes of the people. Instead of a hero towering in majestic stature, and adorned with garments of royal magnifi-

cence, they were presented with an old man, little of stature, poorly dressed, and mean in his appearance.^h

If the people were disappointed in the appearance of Agesilaus, he was disappointed in the conduct of the Egyptian king. Agesilaus expected from his reputation to be appointed generalissimo of the united forces; but Chabrias the Athenian was made admiral of the fleet; and Tachos retained the chief command of the armies for himself. Unaccustomed to move in an inferior circle, the Spartan king did not cordially co-operate with the designs of Tachos. The Egyptian king resolved to meet the Persians in Phœnicia, and to have the seat of war in a foreign country. If Egypt had been tranquil at home, the resolution of Tachos would have been wise and politic; but during the internal commotions of the nation, it was dangerous to depart from the kingdom. But

^h Plutarch de Agesilao.

Tachos was resolutely bent upon his purpose, and scarcely had he left Egypt when a prince of the reigning house was set upon his throne. Agesilaus refused to follow Tachos, and, amid the tumults in Egypt, he bore a conspicuous part.

Nectanebus was now set upon the throne, but scarcely had he been intrusted with the reins of power, when new factions and a new candidate for the throne appeared. Agesilaus was the friend of Nectanebus, and offered him salutary advice and important aid; but Agesilaus had forsaken Tachos, and he was held in suspicion by the new king. But being hardly pressed by factions in the state, and almost overpowered by the accumulated forces of the competing prince, Nectanebus applied for the assistance of Agesilaus, and by his friendship he was firmly established upon the throne. During these transactions Tachos had cast himself on the mercy of Ar-

taxerxes, and he found an asylum in the Persian kingdom.

The reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon was drawing toward a conclusion, and its course had often been disturbed by violence and revolts. He was of a mild disposition ; and his desire of doing good to the people was often frustrated by the wicked designs of those about him. Sunk upon the couch of eastern luxury, he afforded to those who had the management of public affairs, an easy opportunity of oppressing the people, and galling them with the yoke. In the prospect of the king's death, there were many intrigues and much clamour about the succession to the throne. Darius, the eldest son of the queen, had been previously declared to be successor, but he plotted against his father, and was put to death.*

B. C. 360.—Ochus, the third son of the queen, upon the death of his father, stept

* Diod. Siculus, vol. i, p. 506 & 507.

upon the throne, but he had nothing to contemplate but plots at court, and rebellion in the provinces. Violent in his temper, and impelled by the dangers of his station, he committed deeds of cruelty which disgraced his reign. The blood of princes, kindred, and statesmen, flowed in one undistinguished stream. To be included in the list of prescriptions, it was sufficient to be possessed of power or allied to the royal house. The terror of his name was spread throughout the whole of the provinces, and many of those who had rebelled hastened to return with profound submission.

General tranquillity having been restored, Ochus determined to visit Egypt, and unite it again to the Persian kingdom. On his way to that country he quelled a rebellion in Phœnicia, took Sidon, and subdued Cyprus. Assisted by Grecian troops, he over-ran Egypt, which was in a state of disaffection to the existing government, and drove Nectanebus into Ethiopia. He amply re-

warded his friends, but he enriched them from the pillage of cities and the spoils of temples. As the Persians adored the sun, they detested the worship of idols; and Xerxes when he entered Greece destroyed also the temples of that country, as appearing to prescribe bounds to the divinity. But in the conduct which Cambyses and Ochus pursued in Egypt, we cannot discern the power of principle, but indiscretion, profligacy, and violence.

In the 23^d year of his reign, Ochus was cut off by poison, and Bagoas, who prepared and administered it, was compelled by Darius Codomanus to swallow a deadly draught which he had also prepared for that king. Bagoas pretended that he had cut off Ochus for the injuries which he had inflicted on Egypt, and the insults which he had offered to its altars. Bagoas was a native of Egypt, and might have been attached to his country; yet if nothing but patriotism had glowed in his breast, he would not

have attempted, by murderous deeds, to ascend deceitfully the throne of Persia. The sons of Ochus he destroyed; and Codomanus, who was a prince of the royal blood, he raised to the government as a blind to the nation, but was preparing to have him also cut off, when the king, whom he had appointed, and who had assumed the name of Darius, rid the world of the ambitious and blood-thirsty Bagoas.

CHAP. II.

*Alexander the Great. . . . Goes to the temple
of Jupiter Ammon. . . Builds Alexandria. . .
His successors. . . . Ptolemy Lagus acquires
the sovereignty of Egypt.*

B. C. **I**T was during the reign of Darius Codomanus that Alexander the Great burst victorious into the empire of Persia. He was the son of Philip king of Macedon, who raised that country from obscurity to eminence and power. By his skill and rising influence, he acquired the ascendancy over Greece, and was appointed generalissimo of their united forces. In the 47th year of his age, amid vast and splendid preparations for war, he was cut off by the hand of an assassin. His son Alexander was but 20 years of age, but his mind was formed by the precepts of the celebrated Aristotle, and the whole bent of

his soul was toward action and glory. Aided by his situation, talents, and courage, he overcame the opposition of his enemies, and was appointed in his father's stead commander in chief of the Grecian armies. Animated by ambition, and panting for triumph, he completed the preparations for a Persian campaign.

At the river Granicus, and the straits of Issus, Alexander obtained splendid victories, and complete possession of Syria and Asia Minor. But he met with powerful resistance at Tyre,^b for that proud city, in the midst of the waters, cost him a painful siege. While Nebuchadnezzar was destroying ancient Tyre, a new city, as was formerly observed, sprung up on a rock and mound at some distance from the shore. It was this new city which withstood the summons of Alexander; but the wood of

^b This place is now denominated in the east Tsour or Sour.

Lebanon, with rubbish and stones from old Tyre, were employed in forming a communication from the beach to the town. The ships of this besieged city were beaten at sea, and the town itself was taken by storm. Its splendour and its glory passed away; and now it presents but a barren rock upon which fishermen spread their nets.*

Without possessions of land, and wholly surrounded by sea, Tyre depended on other countries for provision and stores. Judea was one of the regions from which it derived many supplies; but in obedience to the oath of friendship by which the Jews were bound to Darius, they refused to supply Alexander with corn. Thus there was drawn upon them his high displeasure, and as soon as Tyre was subdued, he bent a frowning course to the city of Jerusalem. The inhabitants were aware of his design, and trembling seized the people,

* Quin. Curtius, lib. iv, c. 2, 3, & 4.

but the high priest with a splendid train went out to meet him with supplications of peace. Jaddua, adorned with his pontifical robes, the priests, invested with their proper garments, and the people, arrayed in robes of white, appeared before him with dignified submission. Struck with amazement at the splendour of the scene, and admiring that religion which binds its votaries to fidelity and truth, he fell down, with reverence, and worshipped Jehovah. To make the favourable impression so much the deeper, it is generally supposed that Jaddua, the high priest, shewed him that passage in Daniel, where he is marked and described as the conqueror of Persia. He shewed much kindness to the Jews, but to their enemies of Samaria he was more reserved and ungracious.^d

Alexander might now have carried his arms into the eastern dominions of Per-

^d Acts, ch. xii, v. 20 ; Jos. book xii, ch. 8 ; and Daniel, ch. viii, v. 5, &c.

sia, but he deemed it expedient previously to secure the granaries of Egypt, and the command of the ports of the Red and Mediterranean seas. It was necessary to obtain possession of Gaza, because in going from Palestine it guarded the inlet to Egypt. Gaza is now called Razza by the Arabs, and the *r* is pronounced with a strong guttural sound. Gaza is separated from the sea by a sandy beach of no great breadth, and adjoining the town there is a considerable tract of country both pleasant and fertile. Superb ruins of white marble shew what Gaza once was; and as a medium of communication between Egypt and the east, it was long a place of importance; and still among the ruined cities of Palestine it holds a distinguished place.^e When Alexander arrived at Gaza, his victories and his triumphs had neither dazzled the people nor struck them with terror, and therefore the gates of the city were shut

^e Volney, vol. ii, ch. 31.

against him. It stood a siege of two months, and did not surrender but among ruins and destruction.

When Alexander became master of the town, he was rather impelled by resentment and rage than guided by the manly conduct of a generous hero. The inhabitants were treated with cruelty, and Batis the governor, instead of being honoured as his conduct and fidelity deserved, was exposed to the severest treatment. Alexander admired with enthusiasm the works of Homer; and, in his treatment of Batis, he imitated Achilles in his conduct toward Hector. But what Achilles did to Hector when dead, Alexander did to Batis when alive, for, putting a cord through painful perforations in his heels, he dragged him round the city at his chariot wheels till he expired in agony.^f

From the time of Cambyses till the

^f Q. Curtius, lib. iv, ch. 6; Homer's Iliad, lib. xxii, v. 396, et seq.

period at which we have now arrived, the Egyptians in their government had suffered much. They had been exposed to the indignities of proud conquerors, and had been insulted in their religion, liberties, and laws. By repeated efforts of valour and patriotism they were upon the point of regaining their freedom and independence, but by the violence of power and misfortunes they were as often hurried back into the regions of disappointment and bondage. It was in this state of agitation and despondency that Amyntas arrived upon their coasts. He left Alexander at the battle of Issus, and with 4,000 soldiers went over to the interests of Persia. With ambitious views he bent his course to Egypt, and at Tripoli; in Syria, he provided ships for his army, and landed at Pelusium.

Sabaces, who had been governor of Egypt, fell on the field of Issus; and Amyntas pretended that he had been appointed to govern in his stead. But no sooner was the state of affairs favour-

able to his views, than he declared himself the champion of Egypt, and openly declared that he would deliver them from the power of Persia. They listened to him with eagerness, lifted up shouts of joy, and flocked in crowds to his standard. In the midst of success and triumph he marched to Memphis, and might have quietly enjoyed the dignity of a king, but, accustomed to violence, he let loose his soldiers to riot in the excess of plunder and dissipation. This impolitic and unjust transaction lost him the favour of the Egyptians, and the Persians immediately recovered their possessions and power.

Scarcely were these transactions finished, when Alexander, having left Gaza, appeared before Pelusium. The Egyptians being unable to recover their independence, and being justly irritated at the conduct of the Persian king, were ready to make trial of a new master. Alexander appeared with the dignity of triumph, and, in all the terrors

of conquest, but at the same time he possessed attractive graces, and therefore the people of Egypt declared in his favour. The Persians, knowing the temper of Egypt and the power of Alexander, quietly submitted, and departed from the country.

Alexander marched to Memphis, and, by a general order, commanded the altars to be respected, and the complaints of the people to be redressed. It was here that Alexander formed the design of visiting the temple of Ammon, to which the name of Jupiter was afterwards prefixed. Ham was revered as the founder of the Egyptian nation; and, in the progress of superstition, his memory was respected with divine honours: for him, as it is supposed, a temple was built in the interior of Africa; and the fame of that sacred place attracted the attention of Alexander the Great. When every thing was prepared for the enterprise, the king, with his attendants, began their journey, and for several days

continued their route with cheerfulness and vigour, but at length their spirits began to fail. In those dreary solitudes, no water was to be found, and that which they carried upon their camels was nearly exhausted. As far as the eye could reach there was no verdure nor any thing to be seen, but an ocean of sand ready to devour them; but while they were directed in their course by a flight of birds, which flew from the desert toward the verdure of an Oasis, the clouds gathered, and poured down upon them abundance of rain. Thus the army of Alexander were supplied with water; and no winds disturbing the expanse of sand, the anxious travellers were delivered from death.^a

The route of Alexander appears to have been nearly the same as that of the caravans which now pass from Mecca, through Cairo and Fezzan, to the west-

^a Arriani hist. fol. edit. Lugduni, 1577, p. 53 & 54; et Q. Curt. lib. iv, c. 7.

ern parts of Africa. With this conveyance Mr. Horneman travelled from Grand Cairo to Mourzouc, which is the capital of the kingdom of Fezzan. In the course of their journey they came to a fertile and populous district, which appears to be the greater Oasis, where the temple of Jupiter Ammon stood. Geographers have described three Wahs, or Oasis, two of which are in Egypt, and the other in Siwa, within the boundaries of Lybia. An Oasis is a portion of land, rendered fertile by moisture and springs, while the surrounding sands are without water and completely barren.^a

When Alexander and his attendants arrived at the temple of Ammon, they were delighted with the verdure and luxuriance of the scene. Not far from the temple, was a grove of date trees and a copious spring of delightful water. By the ancients, this spring was deno-

^a Browne and Horneman's Travels, *in loco*; Ren. Geog. Herod. p. 549, &c.

minated the fountain of the Sun, and hence we may conclude, that Persian ideas of the Deity gave rise to this name, but the temple itself must have been formed under the influence of idol worship. The temperature of the water being cold and hot at different times of the day, may be nothing more than what we experience in all copious springs. When the temperature of the atmosphere is high, the waters of the spring are comparatively cool, but when the air is cold, the waters of the spring appear to be warm. Browne and Horneman visited this Oasis at different times, and found ruins of ancient buildings. The edifice, which was most entire, was but 15 feet wide, and somewhat more than 30 feet long. Six large solid blocks of stone, reaching from one side to the other, had covered it, and the stile of the architecture was rude. It bore evident marks of an alliance with the buildings of Upper Egypt, and was probably erected by the same people. The stones, which

appear to have been found in the neighbourhood, are of a calcareous quality, and contain a variety of sea productions. The ruins abound with hieroglyphics and sculpture, but no remains of splendour are to be seen. The image of Jupiter Ammon, in the time of its worship, was richly adorned, and on festival days was carried and displayed with magnificence. The wish of Alexander was soon understood in the interior of Ammon's temple; and the priests were disposed to gratify the desire of a rich and powerful king. Anxious to derive his origin from the gods, he was addressed by the oracle as the son of Jupiter Ammon; then presenting large gifts, and offering expensive sacrifices, he quitted the temple, and joyfully returned to Egypt.^b

^b Arrian in loco, et Lucan, lib. ix.

It is more probable, as most authors believe, that he was really and artfully addressed as the son of Ammon, than, as Plutarch supposes, that he was so called by mistake, as the priest did not completely understand the Greek language, in which he spoke to him.

Alexander spent the winter at Memphis, and formed regulations for the government of the state. To Macedonians alone he committed the management of the armies, but to none of them did he intrust the chief command. Every lieutenant was to conduct the martial affairs of his own district, but the whole were to receive their orders from the king. As the Egyptians were to enjoy the full exercise of their own religion and laws, Doloaspes, a native of the country, was intrusted with the sole management of civil affairs. When Alexander was on his way to Siwa,^c he marked out a scite for a new city near the shore, upon the Lybian side of the Nile, which was intended to supply the place of Tyre. The management of the buildings was committed to Dinocrates, an eminent architect of Macedonia, who rebuilt the celebrated temple of Diana at

^c Siwa was anciently called Santariah; Rennel's Geog. Herod. 577.

Ephesus. The new city was called Alexandria, from the name of its founder, and was finished in an elegant stile of Grecian architecture. By canals it was amply supplied with water, and the adjoining deserts were converted into fruitful fields. Alexandria at the first was chiefly peopled by Macedonians and Jews, on whom were conferred immunities and privileges of great value. For completing the city, Alexander destined the tribute of Arabia, but the revenues were partially collected, and notoriously embezzled; yet notwithstanding this improper management, in less than ten years the city was great and flourishing.^d

The affairs of Egypt being thus adjusted, Alexander hastened toward Persia. Success had served but to inflame ambition, and his achievements in Egypt were chiefly intended to prepare for extensive conquests in the east. In those

^d Arrian. hist. p. 54 & 55.

regions so rapid were his movements, that, in the boldness of poetic language, scarcely did his feet *touch the ground*.^c So dreadful were his armies, that Darius fled from his approach and left the palace of Ecbatana. In his flight he was cast into chains by the perfidy of some lords of the realm; and, refusing to become the instrument of their selfish views and his own degradation, they left him so covered with wounds that he instantly expired. Thus ended the Persian empire, which had lasted about 209 years. Its foundations were laid by Cyrus the Great, and its boundaries were considerably extended by Darius Hystaspes. It reached from the Indian ocean to the Archipelago, and from beyond the Euphrates into the deserts of Lybia. Yet by the power of Alexander it was plucked from its eminence among the nations, and hurled into the depth of destruction. Darius Codomanus was

^c Daniel, ch. viii, v. 5.

a prince of majestic appearance, virtuous in his conduct, and mild in his manners. It is not to be inferred from the rapidity with which he and his empire were overthrown, that he was deficient either in fortitude or wisdom. The bands of Alexander were the most expert soldiers of Greece and Macedonia; his movements were firm and instantaneous; but the armies of Persia were sunk in luxury, and slow in their motions. It was by address, vigour, and quickness, that Alexander acquired his laurels and earned his fame.

This triumphant hero entered Scythia, and extended his empire toward the north. But, turning from those wilder regions, he marched into India, and subdued that portion of the country which is denominated Panjab, and is watered by the five eastern branches of the river Indus.^f Loaded with victories, and intoxicated with power, he returned to Ba-

^f Ren. Introduc. to a Memoir of a map of Indostan.

bylon, and there he died amid the revels of drinking and excess. Whether he died by intemperance, or by poison administered with his draughts, is a matter of doubt, and must ever remain unsolved; but whatever was the cause of his dissolution, he died in the 32^d year of his age, and thus prematurely resigned his power, and left his conquests to the ambition and jarring interests of his generals.[§]

B. C. 323.—The duration of his reign was not 13 years complete, and in that space of time he made more conquests than appear by well authenticated history to have fallen to the share of any other warrior. Though little of stature, and somewhat deformed in person, he was capable of great exertions, and able to endure uncommon fatigue. By injuring himself to exercise and hardships, he could better than most men endure the excesses of heat and cold, of hunger

[§] Plut. in Alexan.

and thirst. In many instances the goodness and benevolence of his heart appeared ; and on some occasions he manifested a forbearance and self-command which were highly honourable and worthy of praise. He was naturally of an irritable temper, and occasionally displayed a violence of conduct. Ambition was the ruling affection of his mind, and in aspiring to divine honours he discovered a mixture of weakness and folly.^h

It was a subject of considerable emulation and strife where the body of Alexander the Great should be buried. By some it was proposed to be carried to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and buried with pomp near that sacred edifice, but the governor of Egypt dissuaded them from the hazards of that journey, and it was buried in state at Memphis. It was afterwards removed to Alexandria, and deposited in a superb edifice, which

^h Q. Curtius, lib. x, c. 5, et Arrian. hist. p. 83.

in his own city was built for its reception. As he died in youth, and unexpectedly, he had no successor appointed for the throne, notwithstanding any opinions which have been suggested to the contrary; but, in his last hours, he recommended the care of the state to his faithful servants. The death of Alexander plunged his friends into grief; and for a time the whole energies of government were benumbed.ⁱ

After an awful pause of several days, the eldest son of Alexander was superseded, and Arideus, a brother of the late king, was appointed to the throne. But Roxana, the widow of Alexander, was pregnant, and if she should have a living son, he was to be placed upon the throne along with Arideus. Perdicas, who had been a favourite of Alexander, was appointed guardian of the realm, and governor of Babylon. Upon

ⁱ 1 Maccabees, ch. i, v. 6; Q. Curt. lib. x, ch. 10; and Ælian. Varior, lib. xii, c. 64.

Arideus was conferred the surname of Philip ; and, from the commencement of his reign, the Philippian era began. In a short time Roxana brought forth a son, and he was associated with Philip in the kingdom. Among the allotments which were assigned to the different agents of government, the management of Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Palestine, and part of Syria, was committed to Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. As it is with his government that our present inquiries are more immediately connected, we shall take our station in Egypt, and observe the transactions of Alexander's successors, as far as they are calculated to illustrate the objects in our view.

Though the affairs of Alexander's empire were thus amicably adjusted, yet they were soon thrown into confusion. Ambition destroyed the balance, and the keenness of strife ensued. Perdicas did not enjoy his dignity with contentment ; but, spurning at a secondary command, he aimed at sovereign power. His

ambitious attitude roused the jealousy of nations, and his motions were strictly watched. Whether he considered Egypt or Greece, he found them equally in a posture of jealousy and defence. He was resolved upon war, but stood for a while in suspense, and knew not which way to direct his course. At length, however, he resolved to descend into Egypt, and there he found his destiny sealed. By the exercise of mild and endearing graces, Ptolemy had raised himself high in the esteem of the Egyptians; and his fame drew strangers to his standard. Firm in his strength, and secure in the love of his army, he saw the approach of Perdiccas without many emotions of fear. Precipitancy and misfortune joined hand in hand to punish Perdiccas. Repassing a branch of the Nile, opposite to Memphis, 2,000 of his troops, unable by fatigue to struggle against the stream, were swallowed up by the river. The Macedonians, who were in his army, enraged at his

ambition and misconduct, rose in mutiny, and put him, together with several of his friends, to death.

In this afflicted state of the enemy's camp, Ptolemy entered it on the following morning, performed many offices of compassion, and received as friends the remainder of the army. To Arideus and young Alexander, who were in the camp of Perdiccas, he shewed many marks of attention; but refused to become guardian. He was aware of the danger which accompanied that high trust, and it was left to Antipater, who succeeded Perdiccas as regent of the empire. The same spirit of ambition which influenced the other successors of Alexander prompted Ptolemy to turn his views toward Syria and Judea. Laomedon, who governed in these provinces, was invaded by sea and land, and finally brought into subjection. The Jews having sworn obedience to the governor of their province, would not bow to the authority of the victorious

general, and Ptolemy in a rage marched to Jerusalem; but he found the city strong by nature, and well fortified by art; for the repeated kindness of the Persian kings had enabled them to rebuild and put it into an excellent state of defence. Long might the city have withstood the assaults of the Egyptian governor, if his knowledge of the Jews had not taught him how to subdue them. By the law of the Jews the Sabbath is hallowed, and there it is expressly enjoined, that *in it thou shalt not do any work.*^a

Still smarting under the lash of their captivity in Babylon, and now reinstated in the privileges of their country, they were endeavouring to obey the law of their God. Therefore in the literal fulfilment of the sabbatical injunction, they would not defend themselves on the Sabbath day. It was upon this day of sacred rest that Ptolemy entered Je-

^a The fourth commandment.

rusalem, and took the city ; while the people, from ardent and misguided views, neither lifted buckler nor spear. Josephus places the transaction in a different point of view ; but a variety of circumstances concur to prove the truth of the conduct which has now been stated.^b

It was formerly observed, that Alexander the Great was struck with the conduct of the Jews, in refusing, at the siege of Tyre, to violate their vow of obedience, and we are naturally led to inquire into those circumstances relating to their constitution and government which produced so much honour and fidelity. Where polytheism reigned, the religion of the nation was chiefly placed in external show ; but in addition to the outward observances of the Jews, they were taught lessons of sublime virtue and piety. In the full exercise of their religion, they felt the power of moral

^b Prideaux, vol. ii, p. 281.

obligation. Hence we see the value of religion to individuals and society: it is a powerful principle of action, which not only regulates the conduct, but reaches the heart, and guides the first movements of the soul.

In the struggles for power which prevailed among the successors of Alexander, Seleucus, the governor of Babylon, took refuge in Egypt from the encroachments of Antigonus, who reigned in Asia Minor. To prevent Ptolemy from passing into the east, and reinstating the fugitive Seleucus, Antigonus seized upon Syria, and added to his possessions the region of Phœnicia. The command of these departments was given to Demetrius, the son of Antigonus; but he was unsuccessful in their defence, and was subdued by Ptolemy. In his turn he overcame the Egyptian governor, and, in the day of victory, each of these heroes was generous to his foe. After a variety of movements, Ptolemy recovered Syria, with the ad-

joining districts, and restored Seleucus to the province of Babylon.

B. C. 312. At this period began the era of the Seleucides, which regulates the date of many historical records. In the madness of political ambition, Alexander the young king, and Roxana his mother, had both been put to death, and Cleopatra the sister of Alexander the Great, flying to Egypt for favour and protection, was intercepted on her journey, and basely slain.

It was about this time that Ptolemy recovered Lybia and Cyrene, which, during his wars in Greece and in the east, had been fraudulently taken away. Ophellas, who had been a soldier in the armies of Alexander the Great, followed the fortunes of Ptolemy in Egypt; and, gaining upon the confidence of his master, was appointed to the government of Lybia and Cyrene, which he treacherously seized as his own. Agathocles, king of Sicily, formed the design of attacking Carthage, and seizing upon the

country. Having landed an army, he drew Ophellas into his interest; but when he had acquired the strength which was wanted, the treacherous Sicilian murdered his ally, and appeared in all the terrors of perfidy and conquest. The people of Cyrenaica were filled with dismay; and knowing the cruelty of Agathocles, were alarmed, lest his bloody steps should stain their favourite soil. In this situation of anxiety and alarm, they cast themselves into the arms of Ptolemy, and thus he recovered the regions of Cyrene, which he desired to regain.

Antigonus and his son Demetrius had been successful against Ptolemy in Cyprus and Palestine; and now they resolved to invade him in Egypt. Antigonus was to approach him by the isthmus of Suez, and Demetrius, by a fleet, was to land upon the shore of the Delta. But Ptolemy had taken prudent precautions, and the attachment of his subjects had made him strong. In this posture

of affairs, Antigonus was not only oppressed with difficulties in the desert, but, when he arrived in Egypt, he could make no impression upon the country. The mouths of the Nile were so completely fortified, that Demetrius found it impossible to enter; and the amiable conduct of Ptolemy drew deserters to his camp, who espoused his cause, and remained in Egypt. Repulsed from Egypt, Demetrius, by his father's command, laid siege to Rhodes. This warfare was begun, because the people of that island were attached to Ptolemy, and refused to espouse the interest of Antigonus. But the aid of Egypt enabled them to support the siege; they commanded favourable terms of accommodation; and in gratitude to Ptolemy they surnamed him Soter, or the deliverer.

The insatiable ambition of Antigonus had gradually been rousing the other governors of Alexander's empire, and now they poured upon him a full deluge

of destruction. Being rid of this turbulent partner in power, a new division of the provinces ensued. To Cassander was assigned Macedonia and Greece: to Lysimachus, Thrace and Bithynia, with several districts on the Hellespont and Bosphorus. To the government of Seleucus were committed the countries of the east: and Ptolemy retained Egypt, Lybia, Palestine, Arabia, and Coelosyria.

Thus the great horn of the he-goat, which came from the west, was *broken*, and out of it *came up four notable ones, towards the four winds of heaven.*^b Alexander appears to be compared to a he-goat, because the Greeks of Macedonia were denominated *Ægeadæ*, or the people of the goats. Caranus, who founded that kingdom, was directed, by an oracle, while he wandered, to fix his settlement where he should meet with a flock of goats, which are supposed by some to

^b Dan. ch. iv, v. 8.

mean the islands in the Ægean sea. As to the horns, which in scripture are often mentioned as emblems of strength, and to which Alexander and his successors are compared, suffice it to say, that a practice at Gondar, in Abyssinia, may sufficiently explain the propriety and force of the allusion. Upon returning from a victorious campaign, the general appears with a fillet of cloth wrapt about his head, to which is affixed a conical piece of gilt silver, standing like a horn from the fore part of his head. This emblem of triumph, in that obscure country of Africa, may be the remainder of a practice, which was once more general in the east, and to which the scripture expressions of the horn may allude.^c

^c Bruce, vol. iii, p. 220.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Ptolemy I builds a museum, and forms a library, at Alexandria. . . . The worship of Serapis. . . . Ptolemy II enters into an alliance with Rome. . . . Gives aid to Athens and Lacedæmon. . . . Recovers Cyrene. . . . and conquers Antiochus Thuis. . . . Of Ptolemy III. . . . The Achæan league. . . . Cleomenes takes refuge in Egypt. . . . Ptolemy IV puts his brother to death. . . . Cleomenes illiberally treated. . . . His death, and that of his family and attendants. . . . The queen cut off. . . . Ptolemy V, young at the death of his father. . . . His reign short.

B. C. 306. **P**TOLEMY I was now set upon a throne, and swayed the sceptre of an independent nation. No prince

was ever more desirous of doing good to his people, by bestowing upon them every possible blessing of knowledge and protection. In the arrangements of literature he was assisted by the wise and justly celebrated Demetrius Phalerius. In the sunshine of favour, while Demetrius was governor at Athens, he was held in the highest respect, and honoured with many statues; but by the restlessness of popular opinion, he was soon stripped of his honours, and doomed to punishment. After a diversity of unfortunate events, he fled to Egypt, and enjoyed the friendship of Ptolemy. This refugee of Greece was polished in his manners, and elegant in learning. Ptolemy was himself a man of high accomplishments, and knew the value of the splendid talents which Demetrius possessed. The king was resolved to form a library for the encouragement of science, and was peculiarly pleased with the assistance of Phalerius, in accomplishing his design. In connection with the library, he found-

ed a college, or museum, which became the abode of learning and learned men. The buildings of this museum were adjoining the palace, and in that quarter of the town which was called Bruchium.^e Ptolemy's attention to the commercial interests of the country induced him to build a watch-tower, or light-house, upon the island of Pharos. To form a ready access a causeway was constructed, which was nearly a mile in length, and reached from the island to the shore.

Towards the end of Ptolemy Soter's reign, the worship of Serapis was introduced into Egypt. The vision, which is represented as inducing the king to send to Pontus for the image, and the means by which he procured it, are legendary tales, and unworthy of a place in serious history.^f The worship of the god Serapis appears to have introduced a change into the religious ceremonies

^e Strabo, lib. xvii, p. 1141.

^f Tacit. Ann. lib. iv, c. 83 & 84.

of Egypt. In certain stages of society, not only beasts, but even human sacrifices, as we have found, were offered to the offended gods; but in process of time the blood of animals was forbidden to be shed, either for victims, or for food. These sentiments might first have sprung up, either in India or Egypt, and have been communicated from the one to the other, by the intercourse which in early times subsisted between the nations. It was thus, perhaps, that animals became sacred in Egypt; and that, in one period of their history, nothing but incense and veneration were offered to their Gods. But when Ptolemy brought the image of Serapis into Egypt, he introduced with it again the concomitant practice of animal sacrifice.*

The Serapium, or temple of this divinity, was an extensive building, consisting of squares, porticoes, and a di-

* Macrob. Satur. b. i, ch. 7, edit. Lugduni Batavorum, A. D, 1670.

versity of apartments. It was so superb and splendid, as to be inferior to no edifice of that description except the Capitol at Rome.^c Ptolemy Philadelphus founded, in this temple, a second library, as the apartments of the museum were too small for the increased number of books. It has generally been supposed, that the temple of Serapis was built in the place called Rhacotis, near a village and commercial settlement of the Greeks ; but of late Dr. Whyte, professor of Arabic in the university of Oxford, has with much ingenuity suggested and maintained a different opinion. He endeavours to shew, as will appear in its proper place, that the building of the Serapium was connected with the pillar of Pompey. It has been suggested, that the Grecian idol, which was brought from Pontus to Egypt, was called in the Coptic language Rhacotis,

^c Ammian Marcellinus, edit. Paris, A. D. 1681, b. xxii, ch. 16.

and that this word is of the same signification as Pluto.^h

The place, therefore, where the idol was set up might naturally be called Rhacotis; though distant from the village of the Greeks, which might also have received that name from Serapis, the name of the god, which at home they had been accustomed to worship. The temple of Serapis was near Necropolis, or the burying ground of Alexandria, and consequently without the walls of the city. But the ancient Rhacotis was near the great port, and included within the precincts of Alexandria. Moreover Serapium was on the east side of the canal which passed between Kibotus and the lake Mœreotis; and therefore could not have been far from the pillar of Pompey.

In returning to the personal history of Ptolemy we find, that his favourite wife Berenice exercised that influence

^h Whyte's Egyptiaca, part i, p. 103, &c.

which she had over her lord, and induced him to give the kingdom to her eldest son, in preference to any child of his other wives. Ptolemy,ⁿ the son of his first wife Eurydice, laid claim to the throne, and, in a high tone of disappointment, left the court. He was a prince of a violent temper, and was on that account surnamed Ceraunus, or the thunderer. He went to the court of Lysimachus, and, by a series of crimes, arrived at the crown of Macedonia; but the reward of treachery hastened its steps, and he was slain in a war with the Gauls. He incestuously married his sister Arsinoe, butchered her two sons, whom he had sworn to defend, and then drove his insulted wife into the solitudes of Samothracia. Ptolemy Soter, at the age of eighty-four, had now closed his eyes in death. His reign consisted nearly of forty-one years, nineteen of these

ⁿ Ptolemy was now the family name of the kings of Egypt.

he had held a delegated authority, in the original division of Alexander's empire; twenty of them he was sole king of Egypt, with its appendages, and almost two years he had sitten upon the throne, in conjunction with his son and heir. Ptolemy the son of Lagus, a Macedonian, notwithstanding the various accounts which have been given of him, appears to have been connected with the family of Alexander the Great.ⁱ He was a confidential officer in that king's army, and was as dearly beloved by the soldiers as he was highly honoured by his master. When he was governor of Egypt he maintained the same wisdom and moderation which had adorned his conduct in inferior stations; and when he was raised to the throne, the same sweetness of behaviour, the same mildness and prudent management, continued to recommend him. To the arts of peace he added success in war, and

ⁱ Theoc. Idyl. 17.

by his good conduct Ethiopia and Pamphylia were united to his kingdom. He lived with much respect, died deeply regretted, and will still hold a distinguished place in the rank of good kings.^a

B. C. 284. Ptolemy Soter being dead, his son became sole master of the kingdom. In the rancorous jealousy of power and family pretensions, he put two of his brothers to death, and therefore was ironically surnamed Philadelphus.^b Scarcely was he completely seated upon the throne, when he began to persecute his father's friend Demetrius Phalerius. That wise and experienced sage persuaded Ptolemy Soter not to resign his kingdom till death, lest the bitterness of neglect might disquiet the concluding scenes of his life. To prevent confusion and strife, he recommended the observance of seniority in appoint-

^a Diod. Sicul. vol. ii, p. 384, &c.

^b i. e. One who loves his brother.

ing the successor to the kingdom. These sentiments sunk deep into the vindictive remembrance of both Philadelphus and his mother ; and as the protecting hand of the late king was now mouldering in the dust, they discovered a spirit of revenge. Demetrius was sent prisoner to a distant fortress, and there was detained till he died.

In the history of Ptolemy Ceraunus, we have seen his treacherous cruelty to Arsinoe and her children ; and we have found, that, in the midst of his crimes, he was soon cut off. At his death Arsinoe fled from her banishment, and took refuge at the court of Alexandria. Touched with compassion for her misfortunes, and impelled by affection, which the tenderest sympathy produced, Ptolemy Philadelphus took her to wife. Previous to this transaction, he divorced his queen, who was also of the same name, and the daughter of Lysimachus. The degraded lady plotted the destruction of the new queen, and drew into

her design many lords of the court. But the plot being discovered, the divorced queen was banished into Ethiopia, and the rest of the conspirators suffered the punishment which was due. The reigning queen possessed, by her virtues, so much influence over her lord, that though she was older than he, yet she remained without a rival in his heart, and he erected monuments to her memory, and called cities by her name.

B. C. 273. The Romans had now brought themselves into notice; and by their singular success in the Tarentine war, they had drawn the attention of nations toward Rome. The fame of their achievements had reached the ear of Ptolemy, and he sent ambassadors to assure them of his friendship and affection. The Romans, who had hitherto been little accustomed to such countenance and respect, improved the favourable beginning of alliance, and sent, as ambassadors to Egypt, Q. Fab. Gurges, and Cn. Fab. Pictor, together with Q.

Ogulinus. They were received with splendour at the court of Alexandria, and loaded with rich gifts. These displays of friendship, on the part of Ptolemy, were more than mere professions of respect, for he refused to assist his allies of Carthage against his new friends at Rome.^b

The support of Ptolemy Philadelphus was also solicited by Athens, and Lacedæmon, against Antigonus Gonatus king of Macedonia. Patroclus, a Grecian general, who was cherished in Egypt, took the command of a fleet belonging to Ptolemy, and sailed for the relief of Athens; but not being able to bring the combined forces into cordial and immediate action, he returned homewards, without accomplishing the object of his appointment. He touched at Caunus a seaport-town of Caria, and there he met Sotades, a poet of Thrace. The pen of this satirist was

^b Eutrop. lib. ii ; Valer. Maxim. lib. 40, c. 3.

always pointedly severe, and often indecent. Frequently he lampooned princes; and while visiting Alexandria, he had attacked Ptolemy Philadelphus. If the gall of his writings had always been as well applied, he might justly have been considered as the champion of virtue; for he lashed Philadelphus because he had divorced his former queen, and married his sister Arsinoe; but the poet was himself grossly vile, and had written iambics in praise of an unnatural vice. Whatever might have been the cause which immediately impelled Patroclus, yet in the spirit of high indignation, he wrapt the profane poet in a sheet of lead, and drowned him in the sea. The muse of Sotades was so impure, that licentious verses were called Sotadæan; and it has been supposed that what Juvenal ascribes to Socrates,^d was originally meant for

^d ——— Castigas turpia, cum sis

Inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinædos.

Juv. Sat. ii, v. 9 & 10.

Sotades ; and that by inattentive copying the change had been made. But if Juvenal, in the spirit of satire, did really intend the Athenian philosopher, whose very name is venerable, we must receive it as one of those slanderous assertions, from which the most exalted characters are not secure.^b

Upon the death of Ophellas, to which we have already adverted, the provinces of Cyrene and Lybia were committed to the management of Magas. Berenice, the mother of Ptolemy Philadelphus, was married in early life to a Macedonian officer, and to him she bore Magas, before her union with the king of Egypt. Having gained the affections of his people, and being stimulated by the love of power, Magas disregarded his connection with Ptolemy, and aspired to the crown of Egypt. With this view he marched toward Alexandria; but by internal commotions was impelled to return home.

^b Prideaux, 8vo, vol. iii, l. 2, p. 2.

Ptolemy, who had gone forth to meet him, found also employment, in reducing 4,000 Gauls, whom he had taken into his service, but who, in the midst of his engagements, were endeavouring to make themselves independent. Magas having restored tranquillity in his kingdom, aimed a more complete blow against Ptolemy Philadelphus; for while he was to invade Egypt, on the side of Lybia, his father-in-law, Antiochus Soter, had engaged to make inroads from the border of Syria. But Ptolemy, being aware of their intentions, infested the sea-coast of Antiochus, and gave him sufficient employment for his troops at home. Magas being thus deprived of assistance, dropt his schemes of ambition, and retired from the field of public life.

The pressure of old age, aided by the effects of luxury and dissipation, were making deep inroads into the constitution of Magas. Seeing himself drawing nigh to the grave, he made a proposal

of peace to Ptolemy ; and offered the kingdom, with his daughter Berenice, to the eldest son of the Egyptian king. But Magas died before the marriage was solemnized, and Apamia, his widow, had other objects in view. She sent a messenger to Demetrius, of the royal house of Macedonia, and offered him her daughter, together with the sceptre of Lybia and Cyrene. Scarcely had Demetrius arrived in Africa, when he espoused the mother instead of the daughter ; but the indignant people murdered the new king, drove the queen into Syria, and her daughter Berenice was married to the son of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Apamia stirred up her brother Antiochus Theus to make war against Egypt ; but so completely was he disappointed in his views, that he was compelled to make peace with Ptolemy upon humiliating terms. To secure the whole of Syria in the interest of Egypt, Ptolemy demanded that he should divorce his wife Laodicea, and marry his daughter.

Having lost his possessions beyond the Tigris, and being threatened with extinction in Syria, he complied with the oppressive and degrading, but unavoidable, stipulation. Ptolemy being now in the 63^d year of his age, and 38th of his reign, yielded to the stroke of death, and left the kingdom to one of his sons.

The character of Ptolemy Philadelphus was stained with vice, and chequered with virtues. He was skilful in polite literature ; and Alexandria continued to be the resort of learned men. So anxious was he to enlarge and improve the library of the Serapium, that he assiduously, and at great expence, collected books of value ; and from Eleazar, the high priest of the Jews, he procured an authentic copy of the Hebrew scriptures. They were translated into the Greek language, which was then understood at Alexandria ; and as seventy-two persons are said to have been employed in the work, taking the round number

seventy instead of seventy-two, that version of the bible was called the Septuagint. It was soon in extensive use ; and it is frequently alluded to, and quoted, by the writers of the New Testament.^a

B. C. 246. Ptolemy III, the eldest son of the late king, was now invested with the powers of government ; but scarcely had he tried how to wield the sceptre of that mighty kingdom, when he was called forth into the field of battle. We have found that Antiochus Theus was compelled by the late king of Egypt to put away his wife Laodicea, and marry Eurydice, a daughter of the house of Ptolemy ; but attachment to his divorced queen was still deep in his affections, and as soon as the death of Philadelphus took away the terror of Egypt, he repudiated Berenice, and recalled his divorced queen. But she does not appear to have maintained a reciprocal affection for

^a Phil. de legat. ad C. Cæsarem ; and compare the New Testament with the Septuagint version of the Bible.

Antiochus ; for jealousy glanced darkly from her eye, and revenge sat deep in her bosom. She was anxious to secure the succession in her family ; and before this splendid object every thing else was lost in the blaze.

The late conduct of Antiochus precluded that reliance on his stability, which she had been accustomed to place. For though he had returned to her with the highest pretensions of esteem, yet another day of trial might arrive, when he would prefer security to honour ; and restore to his bosom the degraded Berenice. Under those impressions, and in the dark pursuit of aggrandizement, she administered poison to Antiochus, and sacrificed him to her fears. While lying cold in the embrace of death, to conceal his departure, and arrange the affairs of state, he was represented as still in life, and, in the prospect of dissolution, giving the most affectionate orders in behalf of Laodicea and her children. Her son Seleucus Callinicus

was therefore nominated successor; and after the death of Antiochus was announced, he was publicly proclaimed king of Syria.^b

But according to the treaty of alliance, which was ratified between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, the son of Berenice, the Egyptian princess, was destined for the kingdom of Syria: therefore Laodicea resolved to have both him and his mother put to death. This dark purpose being revealed to Berenice, she fled with her son to the asylum of Daphne. The alarm of her danger flew abroad, and her brother, the king of Egypt hastened to her relief. But his steps were too slow for the rapid strides of Laodicea's vengeance; and before he and his army arrived, the blood of Berenice, her son, and attendants, was flowing in one common stream. But this tragedy was followed by a train of evils, which burst with fury on the kingdom

^b Valer. Maxim. lib. ix, c. 14.

of Syria. Ptolemy, in a paroxysm of rage, dispatched Laodicea, and, with successful arms, marched into the east, as far as the Tigris. He conquered the whole country, between mount Taurus and the confines of India, and with a profusion of spoils returned to Egypt.

In the booty which he acquired were many sacred spoils, which Cambyses carried from Egypt, when he conquered the country, and insulted its religion. These Ptolemy restored to the temples; and so much were his subjects pleased with his conduct, that they conferred upon him the title of Euergetes.^d When Ptolemy was returning from this expedition, he visited Jerusalem, and rendered homage to Jehovah.^e

The queen of Egypt had made a vow that if her lord should return in safety she would devote her hair to the tutelary divinity. When Euergetes returned,

^d Or the benefactor.

^e Josephus contra Appion, lib. 2.

she sent it to the temple of the Zephyrian Venus, which Ptolemy Philadelphus, in honour of his beloved Arsinoe, had built upon the promontory of Zephyrum in the island of Cyprus. The hair was soon lost, by the neglect or contempt of the priests, and to soothe the rage of Euergetes, Conon of Samos, who cultivated astronomy in the museum of Alexandria, artfully pretended that it was carried into the firmament and constituted seven stars, which he pointed out near the Lion. The deception was agreeably received, and the stars were denominated Berenice's hair.

Finding that Ptolemy had returned to Egypt, Seleucus Callinicus endeavoured to regain the numerous provinces which he had lost, but his brother Antiochus, under the pretence of giving him aid, lifted up the hand of rebellion against him. Seleucus, however, pouring upon him the strength of a numerous army, Antiochus fled into Egypt and cast himself on the power of

Ptolemy Euergetes. Antiochus was ungenerously thrown into prison, and though he escaped from the dungeon, it was but to be murdered in his flight by a band of robbers. Seleucus being thus rid of his rival, settled his affairs in Syria and hastened to the east; but in a fatal battle with Arsaces, he was taken prisoner, and died without obtaining his liberty. Arsaces now assumed the title of king; and Parthia, over which he reigned, was then so established in power, that in the process of time it became an impenetrable barrier to the extension and glory of the Roman arms.

About this time Ptolemy Euergetes demanded from Jerusalem the annual tribute of twenty talents, which the Jews for several years had omitted to pay. The whole city was in dismay, for the sum was not only large, but they were afraid of the power and resentment of Egypt, whose claims had been so much neglected; but Joseph, a young man of worth and integrity, adjusted the matter

in demand, and obtained favour of the Egyptian king.^a

After Greece had been weakened and torn asunder by successive misfortunes, there sprung up a confederacy among some cities and states of the Peloponnesus. Many of the people who dwelt there were descendants of Achæus, and the political union which they thus formed was called the Achæan league. It continued to increase till it became the glory as well as the protection of the country. Aratus, whose father had been butchered when governor of Sicyon, beheld with indignation the tyranny which ensued, and by judicious conduct redressed the grievance. When it was again threatened with confusion, he applied for relief to Ptolemy Philadelphus, and obtained money to answer the demands of the state, and pursue those measures which were necessary to restore security and order. Aratus was

^a Joseph. Antiq. book xiii, ch. 4.

justly high in the estimation of his country, but Cleomenes III of Sparta became his rival in power, and by superior influence was declared generalissimo of the Achæan armies. Enraged at a proceeding which cast in the shade his important services to the state, Aratus made peace with Antigonus king of Macedon, and with a party of adherents, turned his arms against Cleomenes. But the Spartan general was victorious; and Aratus, in the season of defeat, applied for aid to Antigonus, who was now apparently his ally, but in reality the common enemy of Greece.^b

Often had the Ptolemies of Egypt lent their assistance to the Grecian states; and Aratus himself had frequently received their favour, but Ptolemy Euergetes was offended at the connection of Aratus with the king of Macedonia, and therefore he gave his interest to Cleomenes, who was then in opposition to the shat-

^b Plut. in Arato.

tered remains of the Achæan league. But for some reasons, which were not specified, the assistance was given to Cleomenes, only upon the express condition of his mother and children being placed as hostages in Egypt. Seeing, on the one hand, the importance of Ptolemy's aid, and apprehensive, on the other, of trials and danger to his family at Alexandria, he was agitated by a mixture of contending anxieties. When his mother was informed of the cause of his sorrow, she smiled at the grief of her son, and cheerfully offered to pass into Egypt. But besides the anxiety which he felt for his mother and his children, there sprung up the tenderest recollections of his departed queen. In the cold mansions of the grave were lost those affectionate regards which she had entertained for her children; and by the hard destiny of their lot, they were to be landed on foreign shores, without her tender hand to cherish or support them.

Under the influence of these impres-

sions, he met with his mother in the temple of Neptune; and while they offered up sacrifices before her departure, they bathed each other with tears of sympathy and affection.

B. C. 222.—Cleomenes was now hardly pressed in the defence of his country, for Aratus had gradually drawn after him the other members of the Achæan league; and Antigonus beginning to triumph in Greece, the Macedonian power daily acquired strength. In this situation of growing danger, Cleomenes was pressed by Ptolemy to listen to proposals of peace; but, with a high spirit of independence, he made one desperate effort in favour of himself and his country. The hostile armies met in dreadful conflict; but in the battle of Sellasia, the glory of Sparta departed. Cleomenes in person, at Lacedæmon, requested his friends quietly to receive the conqueror; but the whole people were in the anguish of despair. Tender parents and affectionate wives wept, but it was

not for their children, nor their lords who fell, but for the disgrace and destruction of their country. They counted them happy whom death had shielded from such knowledge, and such affliction. Cleomenes, without stripping off his armour, leaned his head upon a pillar where the people were assembled, stood in all the majesty of grief, and refused to be comforted. But he rejected with disdain both the advice and the example of finishing his sorrows by a voluntary death. In the defence of virtue and freedom he considered the loss of life as honourable and important, but he viewed it as a deep degradation to rush into the arms of death in order to avoid evils which wisdom could not prevent, and which it was the glory of man to endure.

He set sail for Egypt, and though he was received in that country with reserve, yet as his virtues opened to the view of Ptolemy, he obtained greater favour and more liberal protection. His

friends were also countenanced at the court of Alexandria, and he was further comforted by the most ample assurance that the king of Egypt would endeavour to replace him on his throne. But Ptolemy Euergetes died after a reign of 25 years, and these friendly intentions were never realized.

Euergetes, like his predecessors, was attentive to the interests of learning, and contributed much to the library and museum of Alexandria. During his reign Eratosthenes succeeded to Zenodotus, who, upon the death of Demetrius Phalerius, had undertaken the care of the celebrated collection of books. The munificence of Euergetes was remarkably displayed in the assistance which he gave to the people of Rhodes to repair the losses which they had sustained by that tremendous earthquake, which shook the island and overthrew the celebrated Colossus. As the trade of India was frequently injured by plunderers upon the coast of the Red sea,

he extended his possessions in those places, and placed proper garrisons upon each side of the gulf. It appears by an inscription on an obelisk at Axum, that he had even penetrated into that distant region.^a

B. C. 221.—Ptolemy IV was the eldest son of Euergetes, and is distinguished in history by the name of Philopater. He is accused of having occasioned the death of his father ; and is said to have received his surname from that villainous deed. But if he had been thus denominated from an action so base, the name would not have been acknowledged in the transactions of the court. But it was found to have been impressed upon his coins, and therefore was probably intended as a public disavowal of the deed, and a positive assurance that he loved instead of destroying his father. His character, however, is com-

^a Polyb. lib. v, p. 135, &c. edit. fol. Haganoæ, A. D. 1530; Bruce, vol. ii, p. 483, &c. ; and vol. iii, p. 129, &c.

pletely tarnished by crimes toward his family. He devised the destruction of his brother Magas, lest his popular talents and his mother's favour should subvert his power and raise Magas to the throne. It was in vain that Cleomenes vindicated the character of the young prince, and pointed out his fraternal affection; the darkness of jealousy still brooded over Ptolemy's mind, and Magas with his mother was unfeelingly destroyed.

The Etolians were then the only free people of Greece, and they harassed the other enfeebled states, by frequent hostile incursions. Philip, who had succeeded his father Antigonus on the throne of Macedonia, resisted the progress of their arms, but still the Greeks were afflicted, and Aratus himself had cause to mourn. In this situation of affairs, Cleomenes was desirous of returning to Sparta that he might regain his power and succour his country. He applied for assistance to the court of Ptolemy,

but, in a council of the nation, his petition was rejected, and he was himself cast into prison. A prince of virtue and of honour could not brook this treatment, and he was filled with sentiments of high indignation. He formed with his associates the desperate resolution of breaking from prison, and of endeavouring to overthrow the government. At a time when the king and his courtiers were from home, they burst through the walls of their confinement, and in the streets of Alexandria incited the people to revolt. When none of the inhabitants joined them in the cry, they became frantic with rage and disappointment. Surrounded by the city guards, they put several who attacked them to death, and then, in the prospect of being taken, turned their swords upon one another, that none of them might suffer as traitors.

Pantæas, a young man of genuine courage, waited till the rest were slain; but observing some tokens of remain-

ing life in his friend Cleomenes, he threw himself upon his body, and embraced it, and then falling upon his own sword, closed that scene of madness and blood. By the order of the king, the body of Cleomenes was treated with indignity; and the women and children of his attendants were severally put to death. Among that unhappy number was the widow of Pantæas, who possessed great beauty and dignity, both of person and mind. Animated by a spirit similar to that of her husband, she waited with awful attention till the whole of her companions and children were butchered, and then wrapping them up decently in their garments, and putting her own robes in proper order, she required the executioner to do his duty, and died in the spirit of Spartan greatness.^a

Antiochus, the second son of Seleucus Callinicus, succeeded to the crown of Syria by the death of his brother

^a Plutarch in Cleomen. and Justin, lib. xxviii, c. 4.

Seleucus ; and on account of his splendid deeds, he was surnamed the Great. In the weak and wicked state of Egypt, he attempted to recover the provinces which Ptolemy held in Syria, but his injudicious conduct reduced the strength of the kingdom by the revolt of the faithful Achæus. That virtuous servant preserved the crown for Antiochus during the intrigues of his minority, but when the prince ascended the throne, he forgot the favours which had been done, and Achæus being treated with indignity left the court in disgust, and declared himself independent in the province of Asia Minor. With this new sovereign Ptolemy Philopater formed an alliance, and each of them was anxious to overthrow the power of Antiochus. But that active and enterprizing monarch resisted their united strength, and over-ran the provinces which he intended to subdue.

These advantages gained by the enemy served but to rouse the indolence

of Ptolemy Philopater, and in the ensuing spring he marched with a numerous and well appointed army. They were led through the deserts between Egypt and Palestine, and encamped at Raphia, not far from Gaza. There Antiochus appeared attended by an army great and powerful. While they remained in a state of inactivity, though near one another, Ptolemy was in imminent danger from Theodotus an Eolian, who had been in the service of Egypt, but who left it in disgust and went over to the employment of Antiochus. That man, being well acquainted with Egyptian manners, passed unsuspected through the camp of Ptolemy, and killed a person in the tent of the king. Having slain, as he thought, Ptolemy himself, he returned with joy, and without detection, but it was the blood of the king's physician which he had spilt, for Ptolemy reposed that night in a different part of the camp.

The king of Egypt was roused to ex-

ertion, and the soldiers to bravery, by the presence and activity of Arsinoe the queen. The armies joined in general battle, and the issue was favourable to the cause of Egypt. The provinces in dispute were yielded to Ptolemy; and he might have pursued his conquests to the utter destruction of his enemy, but he was sunk in indolence, and desirous of returning to the luxuries of the court. In the respite which this proceeding afforded, Antiochus formed an alliance with the king of Pergamus, and their united forces invaded Achæus. When shut up in the citadel of Sardis, that king was betrayed into the power of his enemies by the very persons whom Ptolemy sent to give him aid, and Antiochus finished the contest by cutting off his rival.

After Ptolemy had recovered his possessions in Syria and Palestine, he went up to Jerusalem and worshipped in the temple, but it was not piety which prompted him to this performance, for

it is asserted that he attempted by force to enter into the most holy place, where it was unlawful for any but the high priest to appear. The whole temple was in an uproar, but in spite of every entreaty and resistance, he rushed into the inner court, and there being seized with a stupor, he dropt down, and was carried out pale and half dead. Ptolemy recovering from his indisposition, left Jerusalem, and carried to Alexandria deep revenge. He who made the lives and properties of his subjects subservient to his caprice and pleasure, had no idea of restraint or obstruction from any person or prejudice whatever. Under the influence of rage, he issued a decree, and ordered it to be engraven upon a pillar, forbidding any person to enter the precincts of the palace who did not worship the gods of Egypt. Such Jews as were conscientious in the profession of their religion, were thus debarred from seeking justice, or entering as suppliants into the hall of justice. Precluded from

the rights of citizens, they were farther exposed to ignominy and disgrace; and at last an order was issued to have the whole Jews destroyed who were within the kingdom of Egypt. In pursuance of this decree, they were brought bound from the most distant parts of the country and cast into the Hippodrome, or place of equestrian exercises and public shows.

When the order was completed, five hundred elephants were prepared to destroy them. A day was appointed for this deed of horror, and the people were assembled to behold the spectacle, but the king was overwhelmed by the effects of yesterday's debauch, and had no remembrance of the order. Another day was appointed, and a similar insensibility seized the profligate monarch; but upon the third day he appeared, and the elephants were made drunk, to increase their fury. But instead of falling upon the Jews, they rushed back upon the crowded spectators, and the

havock was dreadful. Struck with this unexpected tragedy, so many apprehensions rushed into the mind of Ptolemy, that, in the spirit of fear and contrition, he restored the Jews to their privileges, and loaded them with favours. But so narrow are the views of a corrupt people, that the Jews, who had now been persecuted, even to the gates of death, applied for leave from the government to punish their countrymen, who, in the hour of danger, had abandoned their religion. Leave was given, and vindictive punishment was amply inflicted.^a

About the time of the battle at Raphia, Hannibal the Carthaginian, at the lake of Thrasimenus, gained a victory over the Roman consul Flaminius. While the Romans were thus engaged in war against Carthage, they sent an embassy to preserve and cement that friendship which subsisted between them and the Egyptians. They presented the king

^a Prideaux, vol. iii, lib. 2, and part 2.

with a purple tunic and an ivory chain. To the queen they gave a scarf and a richly embroidered robe ; and the whole was accompanied with the highest assurance of fidelity.

These tokens of fidelity and respect produced pleasure in Alexandria ; and the joy was heightened, and spread itself throughout the country, when Arsinoe blessed her husband with a son. But this season of joy was only the forerunner of sorrow and desolation. Amid the corruptions of the court, Arsinoe preserved the firmness of virtue. She saw and lamented the tide of guilt, and even ventured to remonstrate at the foot of the throne. But Ptolemy was under the direction of a licentious concubine, Agathoclia ; and she not only encouraged him in his profligacy, but inspired him with hatred toward his queen. In this temper of mind, whatever Arsinoe did, displeased him, her admonitions were rejected, and her remonstrances moved him to fury. Forgetting her graces, her

rank, and her claims as a wife, and as a mother, he issued the decree of death, and the command was swiftly obeyed.

So heinous were the crimes of the court, and so base this conduct of the king, that the people, being formerly dissatisfied, now burst into a flame of violence. They compelled the wicked and artful Sosibes to resign that leading authority which he had held in Egypt through several successive reigns. The king's seal, as an emblem of power, was given to Tlepolemus, who was a young man of rank and virtuous conduct, but who had neither experience nor authority for so difficult a station. But the transactions of this reign drew near to a close ; for being worn out by continued scenes of riot and excess, and having reigned scarcely 17 years, Ptolemy breathed his last at the age of 37.^b

Standing at the grave of Ptolemy Philopater, we see nothing but weak-

^b Justin, lib. xxx, c. 1 & 2, and lib. xxxi, c. 2.

ness, infamy, and guilt. The scene is so awful, and the whole propensities of nature are so perverted, that in bringing it to review, the heart refuses to beat, and the blood freezes in its languid course. In the treatment of Cleomenes, he trampled on the law of nations; in the murder of his brother he violated the feelings of kindred; and, in the fate of his wife, he blotted out every principle, and defied every tender emotion.^c In the pursuit of his debaucheries, he disgraced human nature; and in the general tenor of his conduct, he excited detestation. Historians say, that he was a man of letters, and added to the library of Alexandria; but what time could he devote to study, or how could his mind be stored with knowledge, who was so remarkable for debauchery, that he was called Typhon, or the source of evil? In the feasts of Bac-

^c This queen is called Cleopatra and Eurydice, but more commonly Arsinoe.

chus, he was conspicuous for revelling, and in the streets of Alexandria, he imitated the tricks and shameful gestures of the priests of Cybele. In short, he was a monster of vice, and the darkness of infamy rests upon his name.^d

B. C. 204.—Ptolemy V was the only son of Philopater, and the disregarded pledge of attachment which Arsinoe gave to her undeserving lord. He was but in the fifth year of his age when his father died; and therefore the affairs of the kingdom required a regent. Agathoclia, and her base connections, privately adopted measures for their own aggrandizement. Inviting the people of Alexandria to the place of public resort, they stated to them the death of the king, and hinted that Tlepolemus was insidiously endeavouring to seize the crown. At this instant they presented the young prince, and claimed

^d Ælian Varior, lib. xiv, c. 31.

the protection of the Egyptian people. It was expected that Tlepolemus would now have been destroyed by the people ; and that Agathoclia with her friends would have been requested to take the management of the affairs of state : but the crimes of that party were inscribed upon the minds of the people ; and discerning at once their artifice and ambition, the multitude consigned them to instant death. The vengeance of the people penetrated far into the thick mass of guilt which surrounded the court ; and the most experienced wisdom was employed to defend the nation, and preserve the king.

Antiochus of Syria, and Philip the last of that name, who reigned in Macedonia, aiming at nothing but their own aggrandizement, resolved, in the distracted state of Egypt, to attack the empire, and divide it between them. During these commotions the Romans had finished the second Punic war, where Scipio, at the famous battle of Zama, con-

quered Hannibal ; and on that account received the name of Africanus. The senate of Rome upon this joyful event, sent an embassy to Alexandria to announce the good tidings, to thank the king and court for their friendship, and to solicit their countenance, if the aggressions of Philip should force them to make war upon Macedonia.^b

By this time Rome had acquired a name, and swiftly was the report of their success wafted into distant regions. Viewing the power of Rome, and the dangers which hovered over Egypt, it was deemed most expedient to solicit the conscript fathers for assistance and protection. To procure their acquiescence, it was artfully represented as the dying wish of the departed king. Flattered by the honour of such high confidence, and expecting to promote their own interest, they undertook the guardianship of the Egyptian kingdom ;

^b Liv. lib. xxxi, c. 2.

and charged the confederate princes to abstain from any injury upon the dominions of Egypt. M. Æmilius Lepidus hastened to Alexandria, and took upon him the direction of the prince, and the management of the kingdom.*

Lepidus having arranged the business of the state, and placed Aristomenes at the head of the government, returned to Rome, where his services were wanted; and where he held offices of great importance. Aristomenes, being well versed in the interests of Egypt, adopted those measures which promised to be useful to the state. Viewing the luxury and dissipation of Alexandria, it is apparent that the people could not enjoy a state of vigour and virtue: for the vices of the court necessarily descend, and reach, though in diminished streams, the remotest parts of the empire. Aristomenes knew the feeble state of the nation, and he wished for foreign troops

* Tacit. An. lib. ii, c. 67; and Valer. Max. lib. v, c. 5.

to support them amid their weakness. The Etolians were at that time highly esteemed, as soldiers; and he engaged many of them in the service of Egypt. Scopas, an Etolian general of experience, had left his country in disgust, and was then residing in Egypt. To him Aristomenes intrusted considerable sums of money, to enlist soldiers in the cause of Ptolemy. Speedily he raised a chosen body of troops; and by his encouragement and popular manners he would have drawn after him the whole young men of the nation, if he had not been prevented by a decree of the state.^d

This general, with his army, seized upon the disputed provinces in the east, and having placed a garrison in Jerusalem, returned in triumph to Alexandria. But in a subsequent campaign he was driven into the fortress of Sidon; and from the destruction which there ensued, none but himself escaped. The

^d Liv. lib. xxxi. c. 43.

indiscretions of Scopas, in the east, had done an injury to the Egyptian cause; and the Jews, who were enraged at the treatment of their brethren in Alexandria, flung open the gates of Jerusalem to receive Antiochus, and submit themselves to his power. Scopas was of a restless spirit, and his ambition knew no bounds. With the view of exciting disorder and seizing upon the kingdom, he raised a report that Ptolemy was dead; but the plot was discovered, and he with his associates suffered the punishment which their conduct deserved. The same rumour had reached the ears of Antiochus, and he too attempted without effect to become master of Egypt. Ptolemy, though then but fourteen years of age, was invested with the full powers of government. Well and wisely was the kingdom managed, while Aristomenes held the reins, and it was anxiety for the king's interest, which made him so early resign the power. But instead of raising a bulwark around

the throne, young Ptolemy shook its foundations. He was rash in his conduct, misled by flatterers; and his best friend Aristomenes fell before his rage. He was married to Cleopatra the daughter of Antiochus the Great; but the Syrian king was never the friend of Ptolemy. His daughter was promised and bestowed, together with the provinces of Syria and Palestine for dowry, but the whole was only intended as a political arrangement, to secure the interest of Egypt, while Antiochus should over-run Asia Minor and Greece. Ptolemy was styled Epiphanes, or the illustrious; but there was nothing in his conduct or success which entitled him to the name. He cultivated the friendship of the Achæan league, and courted the favour of the Romans; but his measures were not successful, and his reign was inglorious. His imprudence raised many commotions in the state; and at the age of twenty-nine he was cut off by poison.

In the reign of this king the Romans conquered Antiochus the Great ; forced him to leave Europe, and to abandon all that part of Asia Minor which lay to the west of mount Taurus. L. Scipio conducted this war ; and as his brother Scipio was called Africanus for his achievements among the Carthaginians, so Lucius on account of his success in Asia, was surnamed Asiaticus.^a

^a Liv. lib. xxxvii, c. 42, &c. ; Eutrop. lib. iv.

CHAP. II.

Ptolemy VI falls into the power of Antiochus king of Syria. . . . His brother Physcon raised to the throne of Egypt. . . . Disputes ensue between the brothers. . . . Both apply to Rome. . . . Ptolemy Philometor dies. . . . Physcon becomes sole king. . . . His cruel conduct depopulates the country. . . . He invites new inhabitants. . . . At his death Cleopatra his queen reigns in conjunction with one of her sons. . . . Much confusion in the country. . . . Thebes finally destroyed; and Cyrenaica becomes a province of Rome.

B. C. 181. **T**HE late king of Egypt left two sons and one daughter; but the eldest of them being only six years of age, his mother Cleopatra directed the affairs of government. In all respects she behaved with so much propriety, and was so much in favour with the people, that young Ptolomy,

as a token of filial respect, chose for himself the surname Philometor.^b But in the course of a few years this valuable woman died, and the management of the state passed into other hands.

Soon after his defeat and humiliation, Antiochus the Great was cut off, and the throne having been possessed by his son Seleucus, he soon died by poison; and his brother Antiochus was put into possession of the kingdom. He assumed Epiphanes as a surname, but his character was not illustrious, as the word would import. Violence, duplicity, and injustice, were distinguishing features in his reign. By the convulsive situation of the Egyptian and Syrian kingdoms, Epiphanes possessed those provinces, which his father had surrendered to Ptolemy; and the rulers of Egypt demanded a restoration of those disputed districts.^c

^b A lover of his mother.

^c Liv. lib. xli.

This important claim roused the jealousy of the Syrian court, and every arrangement of Egypt was watched with anxiety. When, therefore, Ptolemy had arrived at that age, which entitled him by the laws to exercise the sovereign authority, Antiochus sent a confidential servant, under pretence of shewing respect to his nephew, but in reality with the view of knowing what the Egyptians proposed with respect to Palestine. It having appeared that they were determined to prosecute their claim, Antiochus visited his frontiers, and prepared for war. In the meantime he sent an embassy to Rome, to pay the tribute and engage the favour of the Romans ; but he found that they were too much employed in Macedonia to interfere with the conduct which he might pursue ; and, therefore, without waiting for an answer, he descended into Egypt. He made a successful incursion into that country, and got young Ptolemy under his power and authority.

He treated that prince with so much apparent affection, that he scarcely knew he was in bondage; and his actions were so gracious toward the people, that they were delighted with his conduct. But no sooner did his power seem to be established than he threw off the mask of benevolence, and things sacred as well as civil were equally exposed to devastation. While the kingdom was thus overawed and trembling, Antiochus withdrew to Antioch; and Alexandria, which had never surrendered to his power, attempted to raise a bulwark against him. The people considered Philometor as the prisoner of Antiochus, and as a rallying point of strength they placed his younger brother upon the throne.

The new king was dignified by the name of Euergetes the second; but on account of his remarkable corpulence, he is generally mentioned in history by the name of Ptolemy Physcon. Antiochus now rose in the strength of his

fury, and threatened to destroy the combination of his enemies. But a representation and petition were sent from Alexandria to Rome, and ambassadors were appointed by the senate, to terminate the violence which subsisted between Syria and Egypt. The Rhodians interfered in behalf of Philometor; and, by their offices of friendship Antiochus surrendered to him the whole kingdom of Egypt, except the city of Pelusium. The retaining of this important station revealed the disguised intentions of the Syrian king; and to oppose his views the two brothers, Philometor and Euergetes, had a friendly interview, and agreed to reign in common.

Antiochus, to overthrow their scheme, took Cyprus, and sent his fleet to the Egyptian shores. He marched in person with an army, and at Rhinacurura met ambassadors from Egypt with proposals for peace. In a tone of haughty confidence, and having increased his pretension, he refused to withdraw his troops,

but upon condition of retaining Cyprus, Pelusium, and all that district on the eastern bank of the Nile. The tendency of this condition could not be mistaken ; and therefore the terms were indignantly rejected. Antiochus therefore marched on in the full tide of success, till he arrived within a few miles of Alexandria, and there he met ambassadors from Rome. As they drew nigh Antiochus advanced to salute them, and seeing Popilius, with whom he had been acquainted at Rome, he naturally stretched towards him the hand of friendship. But the spirited Roman withheld a return ; and presenting to him the orders of the senate, required him to read, and give an immediate answer. The king of Syria perused the instructions of the embassy ; and in a hesitating manner promised to give a reply when he had consulted his friends. But Popilius, with the firmness of conscious power, sprung forward with decisive steps, and drew a circle round Anti-

ochus upon the sand where he stood; then raising his voice in a tone of authority, 'Before,' said he, 'you stir without the circle which I have now drawn, give me an answer which I can carry back to the conscript fathers.'^a Confounded by an air so bold and unexpected, and fearing the Roman power, which was then triumphant in Macedonia, Antiochus paused, and returned a favourable answer. Then Popilius stretched out the hand of peace, and the Egyptian empire was secured in its independence.^b

But the tranquillity of Egypt was of short duration, for the fiend of discord entered into the counsels of the two brothers, and the kingdom was shaken by their violence. Rome was applied to for friendly aid; and ambassadors, who were at the court of Syria, were appoint-

^a Liv. lib. xlv. c. 11, 12.

^b Just. lib. xxxiv. c. 3.

ed to visit Egypt, and settle the matters in dispute ; but before their arrival Ptolemy Philometor in his way to Italy, had landed at Brundusium. Covered with dust, sordid in his attire, and pitiful in his appearance, the cause of this prince engaged the interest of the Roman people. Orders were given for harmonizing the discord of the rival brothers, and each of them professed a willingness to obey. Lybia and Cyrene were assigned to Physcon ; and Egypt, with the island of Cyprus, was reserved for Philometor. But Ptolemy Physcon was dissatisfied with his lot, and laid his complaints before the senate of Rome. They were favourable to his cause, in preference to that of his brother, and gave orders to join Cyprus to the kingdom of Lybia and Cyrenaica. But Ptolemy Philometor resisted the mandate ; and in the struggle for power, he shewed such clemency to the ungracious Physcon, that he acquired much praise ; and

the Romans withdrew their opposition to his cause.^b

When Ptolemy Philometor had settled the affairs of Cyprus in person, he committed the government of the island to Archias, and returned to Alexandria. The history of this governor is a memorial of human frailty, and shews how differently the moral principle may be affected in different situations. Archias had been a faithful servant in the interest of Philometor; and in the day of his master's affliction had tenderly followed him to Rome; but then no temptations had occurred, which accorded so completely with his soul, as to shake his friendship, and overthrow his virtue. But he possessed a covetous disposition, and when governor of Cyprus, he was assailed in this vulnerable part. He was offered a bribe; and for a large sum of money he betrayed Philometor's cause,

^b Liv. Breviarium, lib. xlvii.

and delivered Cyprus to Demetrius Soter, who was then king of Syria.

By this insidious conduct respecting Cyprus, Demetrius had drawn down upon himself the resentment of the Egyptian king. But while Demetrius had yet but a distant eye upon the kingdom of Syria, he appears to have been jealous of the power of Egypt; for when residing at Rome, he supported the claim of Ptolemy Physcon to the island of Cyprus. But his ambition and crimes raised him up enemies on every side; and Balas, a youth of obscure origin, was presented as a rival for the kingdom of Syria, under the pretence that he was the son of Antiochus Epiphanes. Demetrius was sunk in indolence and licentious pleasure; and by the encouragement of Rome, together with the support of Ptolemy Philometor, Balas was easily seated on the Syrian throne.

When he was thus in the possession of dignity and power, he took the name of Alexander, and obtained the daughter

of Ptolemy Philometor in marriage: but he too sunk in the lap of eastern luxury, and was soon dethroned by Demetrius the son of the late king. The misconduct of Alexander induced Philometor to deprive him of his daughter; and he gave her to Demetrius, who received Nicator as a surname. In a desperate battle, which was fought near Antioch, Alexander fled in the hour of danger, and took refuge in the house of Tabdiel, an Arabian chief. There he was perfidiously murdered, and his head sent to Antioch. But scarcely had Ptolemy Philometor seen the blood dropping from the head of Alexander when he too was chilled in the grasp of death; and died of the wounds which he had received in battle. He was about 41 years of age, and had reigned nearly 35.^b

Looking back upon the whole scene of Ptolemy Philometor's actions, we must grant him the character of a mild

^b Diod. Sicul. excerpt. Valesii, vol. ii, p. 579, 593.

and benevolent prince. Though he was highly provoked by the conduct of his brother, and though his reign was a time of deep trouble, yet he never issued a mandate of death. The patience with which he bore the deceitful proceedings of Antiochus Epiphanes gave his subjects occasion to consider him as indolent and pusillanimous; but he shewed, in the future conduct of his life, that he was destitute of neither vigour nor courage. While he was connected with the government of Egypt, Onias erected a Jewish temple in the Egyptian district of Heliopolis, where the temple of Bubastis once stood. Disappointment at not being raised to the high priesthood of Jerusalem was the secret cause of erecting this Jewish temple, but it was highly favourable to the interests of Egypt. It removed the necessity of the Jews going up to Jerusalem to worship, where they were in danger of being seduced from their duty and allegiance, and it induced others to settle in the country.

The Israelites had some doubts with respect to the propriety of worshipping in this new temple, which had given to the place where it was erected the name of Onion ; but their scruples were happily removed, and then they rejoiced in the religious privileges which they enjoyed in Egypt.

Ptolemy Philometor being dead, his widow Cleopatra did every thing in her power to secure the succession for her son : but the pretensions of Ptolemy Physcon were numerous, and every thing wore a hostile appearance. But the Roman ambassadors, who were then at Alexandria, averted a civil war, by concluding a marriage between Physcon and Cleopatra. They agreed to reign jointly during the period of both their lives, the survivor still to hold the reins ; and when both of them were dead, the son of Ptolemy Philometor was to ascend the throne. But the darkness of perfidy and revenge rested upon the mind of Ptolemy Physcon ; and he stain-

ed the nuptial couch with the blood of Cleopatra's darling son. Going forth in the indulgence of cruelty, and mad with the galling reproaches, or sullen hatred, of his subjects, he marked his very steps with blood, and strewed his paths with desolation. His fury was particularly bent against the friends of Cleopatra, and the favourites of the late king. But so widely was destruction spread, that the country was forsaken, and the towns became a wilderness.

Amid the disasters of Greece, science had formerly fled from their favourite abodes, and found refuge in the schools of Alexandria; but now learning rushed from the scenes of horror in Egypt, and returned to the bosom of Greece. Strangers were invited and flocked to Egypt; but they were the uncultivated wanderers of rude nations, and could not supply the place of the more polished inhabitants, who had departed. By the influence of Hierax the madness of Phryson was somewhat regulated; but when

that temperate and prudent minister could no more interpose his authority, the violence of the king run again into extremes. Not dealing then in partial devastation, he set fire to the place of public exercise, where the young men of Alexandria were assembled ; and having guarded the passages of the building, those who escaped the flames perished by the sword. Every family in the capital was in tears, and the mob flew to the palace, with the swiftness of rage, and covered it with flames ; but the king made his escape and arrived at Cyprus.

Here jealous fears crowded into his soul ; and lest the Egyptians should raise to the throne one of his sons, who was governor of Syrene, the youth was sent for to Cyprus, and assassinated, as he stept upon the shore. The hatred which the Egyptians bore to Ptolemy Physcon, was now so much aggravated, that they pulled down, and dashed to pieces, the

^h Justin, lib. xxxviii, c. 8.

statues, which had been erected to him in the city of Alexandria. Considering this outrage as done by the advice of his queen, who then held the reins of government in Egypt, his rage burst asunder the remaining bands of decency and feeling. He commanded their son Memphilis to be murdered, and sent in a mutilated state to the queen of Egypt. Who can feel with sufficient indignation the base conduct of the father? and who can accurately conceive the pangs and distraction of the mother?^o

Never more, said the universal cry, shall that consummate villain hold in his hands the reins of Egypt: but crimes have sometimes a temporary triumph; Ptolomy Physcon reached Egypt in hostile array, and his terrible success threw Cleopatra into despair. She expected assistance from Antioch; but the commotions of Syria withheld the aid of Demetrius Nicator. Thus abandoned

^o Liv. Brev. lib. lix.

to her fate, Cleopatra fled, and took shelter with her daughter the queen of Syria. Ptolemy Physcon took quiet possession of the crown of Egypt; and exercised more clemency than appears to have been consistent with his perverse nature. In the course of a few years he died, in the 67th year of his age.^e

The son of Sirach, a learned Jew of Jerusalem, came to Egypt in his reign, and translated from the Hebrew into the Greek the apocryphal book which is called Ecclesiasticus. But it appears from the thanksgiving, which he subjoined to that book, that he was in imminent danger at the court of Alexandria.^f As to Physcon's own attainments and knowledge, they have been spoken of in high strains of praise; but if his mind were enlightened by science, his guilt was so much the greater, in that he permitted the darkness of accumu-

^e Diod. Sicul. excerpt. Valesii, vol. ii, p. 624, &c.

^f Eccles. ch. li.

lated crimes to rest upon a mind which had been illuminated by knowledge.

When Ptolemy Physcon was at home, he attempted to win the affections of Cornelia, and make her his queen. But the daughter of Scipio Africanus, the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, and the mother of the celebrated Gracchi, chose rather to continue a matron of Rome, than to be queen of Ptolemy Physcon. To say nothing of his unseemly person, the vices of his life, which were then but opening to view, could not fail to shock the delicate and virtuous mind of the chaste Cornelia.^b

B. C. 117—The grand object of the queen mother was to acquire power; and for this reason, Ptolemy, the elder son of the late king, was constituted governor of Cyprus, while Alexander the younger was made joint partaker of the throne with his mother. She was compelled by the will of her subjects to re-

^b Juvenal Sat. vi, v. 167; et Valer. Maxim. lib. iv, c. 4.

verse this appointment ; and when Ptolemy was declared king, with the usual solemnities, he added the surname of Soter. But from a mark of a vetch, or small pea, upon his face, he was called Lathyrus, in the same manner as the name Cicero among the Romans was derived from a Latin word descriptive of a similar appearance on the founder of that family.^k Thwarted in her views, the queen continued, through her whole reign, to oppose the honour and happiness of her sons. Lathyrus was compelled to part with his wife Cleopatra, whom he passionately loved ; and to marry Selene, for whom he had no affection. Cleopatra being thus driven from her husband, retired into Syria, and married Antiochus Cyzicenus a prince of that country. Her sister Tryphena, who was also a daughter of Ptolemy Physcon, was wife to Grypus, another prince of Syria, and a rival of

^k Dion. Cass. edit. Hamburgi, A. D. 1750, p. 60.

Antiochus. By the jealousy and intrigues of Tryphena, Cleopatra was put to death ; but soon did Tryphena herself suffer the punishment of her crimes. The kingdom of Syria was now hastening to dissolution ; and as it was diminished in strength, the power of Jerusalem became more formidable. To assist the Syrians against the Jews, Lathyrus readily granted his aid, but, in the meantime, the caprice and power of his mother drove him to Cyprus, and Alexander was recalled to the Egyptian government. From Cyprus Ptolemy Lathyrus penetrated into Judea ; and, upon the banks of the Jordan, gained a complete victory over the Jews. His success in that country alarmed the queen of Egypt, and by a powerful army she compelled him to return to Cyprus. But the queen-mother still was embroiled at home, and by her son Alexander was finally put to death. This parricide rendered him odious to the Egyptians ; his own mind was in dis-

traction ; and he wandered a vagabond, till he was killed in a battle at sea, after he had reigned partially, and nominally, for the space of nineteen years.

Ptolemy Lathyrus was called to his paternal inheritance in Egypt ; and he endeavoured to restore the power and solidity of his shattered dominions. During the convulsed state of Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Arabian coast had revolted, and even Upper Egypt was in a state of rebellion. In the vigour which was necessary to subdue this district of the country, much devastation was committed. The city of Thebes was completely overthrown, and the last ray of its glory was taken away. Sylla in his wars with Greece solicited ships from the maritime allies of Rome ; and with the view of receiving aid from Egypt, Lucullus arrived at Alexandria. He was treated with the highest respect ; but the enfeebled state of the country could not afford him the aid which he requir-

ed. Ere long Ptolemy Lathyrus died, when his reign had continued about thirty-six years. Eleven of these he had been joined in power with his mother; eighteen he had governed Cyprus; and seven years he had sat alone in full possession of the Egyptian kingdom.

Ptolemy Apion, whom Physcon had by his concubine Irene, was appointed, by his father, king of Cyreniaca. With so much prudence did he govern this kingdom, that while Egypt was distracted by changes, and torn by violence, the realms of Apion remained in peace. To prevent the evils which might befall his kingdom, if again united to the turbulent country of Egypt, he bequeathed it, by will, to the Roman people. For a while it enjoyed its liberties, and felt no other effect of foreign power, but the payment of a small yearly tribute to Rome. However, so many disorders ensued; and so many factions sprung up, when there was no hand to controul, that it was

found necessary to reduce it to the condition of a Roman province.^c

B. C. 81.—Cleopatra was the only legitimate child of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and she was immediately declared to be queen. She was the first female who had reigned alone in Egypt; but there soon sprung up a rival for the throne. When the mother of the late king marched an army against him into Phœnicia, she sent for safety into the island of Cos the son of his brother Alexander, and with him she deposited her jewels, and other valuable effects. The distracted state of Egypt compelled her to neglect the objects of her care in Cos; and they fell into the hands of Mithridates the king of Pontus. That monarch gave young Alexander the means of education suitable to his birth; but the prince fled from a court where terror and devastation every where prevailed.

^c Liv. brev. lxx; Justin, lib. 39, c. 4 & 5.

As a warrior, and a man of infinite resource, Mithridates had scarcely an equal; but his cruelty was great, and his caprice unbounded. Though in favour at the court of Pontus, the Egyptian prince lived daily in terror; and, to avoid a sudden change of treatment, he escaped to the camp of Sylla, who, with the armies of Rome was fighting against Mithridates. Alexander found protection and comfort, in the family of Sylla, and, upon the death of Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt, he was sent by the powers of Rome to occupy the throne of his fathers. When he arrived at Alexandria, he found his cousin Cleopatra in possession of the kingdom, and the affections of the people; but he was supported in his pretensions, by Sylla, who was then perpetual dictator at Rome. The people too had a respect for the male representatives of their kings; and an union of interests was formed by a marriage with Cleopatra. But it appears that the cruelties which he had seen, and been

afraid of, in the house of Mithridates, had not improved his heart, nor cherished the milder affections of the mind; for, nineteen days after his marriage, he issued an order, and the queen was put to death.^b

This king, who was distinguished by the name of Alexander II, did not sit long at ease upon the throne of his power, for the late deed of infamy renewed the discontents of Egypt, and pretensions to the throne were made by a prince in Syria. Selene, the sister of Ptolemy Lathyrus, bore two sons in Syria, and for one of them, she laid claim to the Egyptian kingdom. They were both sent to Rome for the protection and assistance of the senate; but, after two years of ineffectual application, they were dismissed in the bitterness of neglect and disappointment.

Antiochus, who was the immediate claimant, returned through Sicily, where

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii, c. 24.

he met Verres, the Roman prætor. Verres received him with every mark of friendship, and treated him in the highest stile of Roman splendour ; but these professions of regard were to cover selfish and base designs. Antiochus had carried with him, to Rome, great profusion of riches, as well as costly jewels, and these excited the covetous desires of the Roman governor. Professing to admire their beauty and splendour, he got them into his possession by cunning, and detained them by force. The avaricious and blotted character of Verres appears from the glowing oration pronounced against him by Cicero, when he was accused by the Sicilians of venality and corruption.^a

But the countenance of the Roman people could not long protect Ptolemy Alexander in possession of his kingdom, for his crimes rendered him every day more hateful to his subjects, and at length

^a Cicero. in Verrem. lib. 4.

he fled from an insurrection which threatened his life. Pompey was at that time carrying on a war against Pontus, and to him he applied for succour. But the Roman general would not interfere with Egypt, as his commission from Rome had no reference to that country, and as his whole forces were necessary for opposing Mithridates. Upon this repulse, Ptolemy Alexander went to Tyre, and thence he made another application to the senate of Rome, but before an answer was returned, he paid the debt of nature.

Influenced by respect to the people of Rome, and prompted by hatred toward the Egyptians, he left his kingdom to the Roman senate. But while some of the persons in power were for accepting the gift, Cicero and other judicious observers strenuously resisted the proposal. They viewed it as a transaction which would engender evil, and must be fraught with imminent danger. Such then was the corrupt state of Rome, that every

new accession of dominion excited a general expectation of personal aggrandisement, and threatened the republic with the renewal of the Agrarian law. They had already received, by testament, Pergamus, Bithynia, Lybia, and Cyrene, and if persisting in that mode of acquiring property, they should add to the republic so valuable a kingdom as Egypt, they would create jealousies in the councils of independent nations, and be viewed as interfering with the natural succession of kings. By these and such like arguments, they waved their acquired claim to the throne of Egypt, and only took possession of Alexander's personal effects.^b

^b Cic. Orat. 17 & 18, contra Pullum.

CHAP. III.

Ptolemy Auletes at Rome, and acknowledged king of Egypt. . . . Unpopular in his government. . . . Clodius attempts to violate Cæsar's wife. . . . Auletes is driven from Egypt, and afterwards restored. . . . The battle of Pharsalia. . . . Pompey's death, and Cæsar's transactions in Egypt. . . . Cæsar returns to Rome, and is put to death.

B. C. 65. **I**N the meantime an illegitimate son of Ptolemy Lathyrus was invited to be king of Egypt, and he is distinguished by the surname of Auletes, because he played skilfully upon the flute. It was now an object for the kings of Egypt to have the approbation and support of the Roman people; but the sanction of that republic was peculiarly requisite for Auletes, because his claim to the throne of Egypt was not ascertained by legitimate birth. Julius

Cæsar was now in high possession of power at Rome, and being extravagant, as well as ambitious, he was in want of money, and deep in debt. By the influence of bribes, Ptolemy Auletes found access to Cæsar, and, with the concurrence of Pompey, he was declared to be the friend and ally of the Roman people.^c

The money which he paid, and promised, as the price of Roman friendship, was the cause of heavy contributions on the people of Egypt; and these burthensome exactions, together with the profligacy of his character, roused the hatred of his subjects. As he refused to assert the right of Egypt to the island of Cyprus, and durst not remonstrate on that subject to the Roman people, the Egyptians surrounded his palace, and would have put him to death if he had not secretly made his escape. In his flight to Rome, he embarked for the

^c Dio. Cass. lib. xxxviii, p. 196.

island of Rhodes, and there he met the celebrated Cato. That venerable man had long struggled against the corruptions of his country, and he dissuaded Auletes from going to Rome.

He hinted at the neglect which a king in adversity might be compelled to endure ; he assured him that the whole riches of Egypt would not be sufficient for the avaricious demands of the republican leaders ; and he earnestly advised him to return home. It would be easier, he maintained, and more honourable, to redress the grievances of his country, and thereby endeavour to regain the affections of his people, than to sue with submission and uncertainty at the court of Rome. The valuable sums which had already been demanded, to procure him the acknowledgment of the senate, were sufficient to shew what might be expected, if they granted him aid to recover his kingdom.^d

The presence of Cato in Rhodes was a strong proof of the violence and injustice of Rome. He was destined to Cyprus by the appointment of the senate to depose the king of that island, who was the brother of Ptolemy Auletes himself. Their claim to that possession was founded upon the will of the late king of Egypt, which they had renounced in all its parts, except, as we have seen, the personal effects of that prince. But, if followed up to its utmost extent, it included the kingdom of Egypt also, and involved, of course, the interests of him who wished for the aid of the Roman people.

But the renewed pretensions toward Cyprus were occasioned by the conduct of Pub. Clodius. He was a young nobleman of dissolute manners, who renounced the claims of his birth, and was adopted into the family of a plebeian, that he might pursue the measures of his licentious ambition. He was chosen tribune of the people, and, from that

situation of power, he resolved to hurl vengeance upon the king of Cyprus. Clodius, in one of his inconsiderate rambles, was taken by pirates, and he sent to Cyprus for money to purchase his liberty, but the king of that island advanced him only a trifling sum, and from that moment Clodius was his foe. His resolution was to deprive the king of his government, and strip him of every thing valuable. Cato refused to undertake so unjust and cruel a task, but Clodius forced him to comply. He had two purposes to serve by compelling Cato to go in the character of prætor to Cyprus. He hoped thereby to have a colour of equity given to the unwarrantable transaction of seizing that island, for Cato was deemed the most upright man at Rome, and, in his absence too, Clodius expected to meet with less resistance in pursuing his wicked designs against Cicero.

But his own folly and wickedness were the true sources of the evils which

befel himself, and the sorrows which he intended for others. We have seen how his antipathy was excited against the Egyptian prince of Cyprus, and we shall shew in what manner he became the enemy of Cicero. Amid the shameful debaucheries of his life, Clodius formed a base design upon Pompeia, the wife of Julius Cæsar, but found many difficulties in accomplishing his scheme. Running to and fro in the madness of impatience and disappointment, he heard with satisfaction that the rites of Ceres were soon to be celebrated in the house of Cæsar. To these sacret mysteries no male was admitted; but Clodius, taking advantage of his youthful appearance, dressed himself in women's attire, and entered the forbidden hall. The strength of his voice revealed the deception; and the noise of the unhallowed deed resounded throughout the streets of Rome. Clodius was brought to trial, and when acquitted, vowed revenge upon Cicero,

whose splendid powers were employed against him.^a

The point in which he intended to wound Cicero, was relative to the manner in which some accomplices of Catiline were put to death. They suffered by the command of the senate alone, without the common formalities of law. To protect the order and liberties of society is a popular and meritorious cause; but the conduct of Clodius was selfish and revengeful, for Cato, in his address to the senate, upon the occasion of that trial, declared publicly, and was not contradicted, that in cases of treason and open war against the commonwealth, it had been the practice of their ancestors to put the criminals to immediate death; and surely it was not a time to introduce more lenient measures, when, within the walls of Rome there was the dagger of the traitor, and without the city Cataline and his followers were

^a Liv. brev. 103, et Cic. ad Atticum, lib. 2.

advancing with fire and sword. But Clodius obtained a law against summary executions, and the tenor of the law was just and humane ; but artfully, and with malice, he framed it with a retrospective range, which included the conduct of Cicero in the punishment of Catiline's conspiracy. Cicero was banished, with peculiar circumstances of severity ; but in spite of his enemies he was soon recalled with honour and demonstrations of joy.^b

It was in this corrupt and agitated state of Rome that Ptolemy went thither to solicit aid. He would have returned by the advice of Cato, but his attendants persuaded him to proceed, and the sequel shews how genuine was the picture which the sage drew. When Auletes arrived at Rome, Julius Cæsar had gone to Gaul ; and though Pompey was the friend of Ptolemy, yet he was op-

^b Sallust in bell. Cat. Cic. ad Attic. lib. iii et iv ; et Dio Cass. lib. xxxviii, p. 159.

posed in his views. An embassy had arrived from the reigning party at Alexandria, and nothing was to be done but by the influence of money. By the intrigues and violence of Ptolemy Auletes, the Egyptian deputies were assassinated, and, by the corruption of Rome, the murderers were acquitted. A decree of the senate was obtained for restoring Ptolemy by force, but a pretended oracle artfully frustrated the design. Wearied by disappointment, and apprehensive of danger, the fugitive king retired to Ephesus, and took shelter in the temple of Diana. If he looked toward Rome, he saw turbulence and uncertainty, and if toward Egypt, the throne was occupied, and his hopes were few. Upon his departure from Alexandria, his daughter Berenice was constituted queen, and was married to Seleucus, a grandson of Ptolemy Physcon. He was one of those princes whom we lately found laying claim to the kingdom of Egypt, and now when set upon

the throne, he does not appear to have been worthy of so high a station. He was sunk in the deepest corruption of the times, and the deformity of his body does not seem to have been more complete than the perversion of his mind. He was detested by his people ; and so odious did he become to his queen, that, in the sanguinary habits of that period, she commanded, and he was instantly strangled. The contests which had subsisted so long in Syria gradually weakened the strength of the country, till it was grasped by the king of Armenia ; and when he was subdued by Pompey, Syria became a province of Rome.

At Rome Pompey watched over the interests of Ptolemy Auletes. When there was no prospect of a favourable issue, he directed him to Gabinius who was then governor of Syria. That Roman was a person of profligate conduct, and by oppressive exactions had been the scourge of his province. When Ptolemy arrived with the letters of Pom-

pey, Gabinius had begun his march into the east for the purpose of restoring the king of Parthia, but a higher bribe induced him to change his route, and he directed his army toward Egypt. Of all his officers, M. Antony alone was favourable to this expedition; and he was dispatched with a body of troops to secure the passes and open the way into the kingdom. Being successful in this attempt, Antony took Pelusium, and was assisted in his projects by the Jews of Onion. The whole army of Gabinius followed, and in hostile array were met by the troops of Egypt. They were led by Archelaus the high priest of Comena, whom Berenice, after the death of Seleucus, had received as the partner of her throne. He was great in courage, and deserved success, but his licentious troops fled, and he was slain in battle.

The whole of Egypt was soon subdued, and Auletes again was possessed of his sceptre; but experience had not

made him wise, nor had affliction taught him compassion. He began his new career by the death of Berenice, and his hand of vengeance was far extended. Severities were not confined to those who had been his enemies, but the being rich was to be exposed to the exactions and confiscations of the king. He demanded money to pay the large sums which he had borrowed for bribery at Rome ; and all the cruelties he exercised were done under the protection, and by the assistance of a Roman garrison which was left in Alexandria.

His money was not only levied by injustice, but C. Rh. Posthumius, who advanced him large sums, found him both slow and evasive in his payments. Pretending that the delay was unavoidable, from the incorrect manner in which the taxes were collected, he prevailed upon Rhabirius, for his own interest, to take the chief inspection of the national income. Scarcely had the Roman accepted this ungracious office, when he was

cast into prison by the ungrateful sovereign, and was only suffered to escape by bartering his claims of money for a grant of life.

When Gabinius returned to Rome, he was prosecuted for bribery and extortion, for giving Auletes military aid contrary to the commands of his country, and for high treason, by leading his army without permission beyond the bounds of his province. Notwithstanding the exertions which were made in his favour, he was condemned, and lived in banishment till Julius Cæsar recalled him. To add to the misfortune of Rhabirius in losing his money, he was involved with Gabinius in the accusation of bribery, charged with having enabled Pompey to corrupt the senate, and sued for having degraded the character of a Roman knight, by gathering taxes for the king of Egypt; but of all these crimes and misdemeanours, he appears to have been acquitted by the eloquence and friendship of Ci-

cero. How unavailing are the expectations of influence and power : and how often in the deceitful courses of the world are great exertions productive but of small effects ? how much anxiety did Ptolemy Auletes suffer ? how much treasure did he expend ? and what rivers of sorrow did he make to flow for the scanty allowance of a few additional years upon the throne of Egypt ? His character is marked by cruelty to his family, by ingratitude to Rhabirius ; and having lived but four years after his restoration, he died without pity, and without respect.^a

B. C. 51.—His successor was the eldest son of Ptolemy Auletes, and surnamed Dionysius. Being young at the death of his father, he, and the rest of the children, were committed to the guardianship of the Roman people. According to the abominable custom of Egypt ; and other parts of the east, Ptolemy Dio-

^a Cic. pro Rhabir. et ad Attic. lib. iv ; et Dio. Cass. lib. xxxviii, p. 219, &c.

nysius married his sister Cleopatra ; but the marriage union was not productive of family concord. Their connection was of short continuance, for the queen was early banished from the kingdom. It was at this period of public distraction, when the far-famed Pompey landed in Egypt. The power of Julius Cæsar acquired strength at Rome, while that of Pompey rapidly decayed. In a time of national anxiety and fear, Cæsar felt his strength, and passed the Rubicon,^b which was the southern boundary of his province. Having thus violated the laws of his country, he proceeded to Rome, that he might bind her in chains. All Italy bowed before him ; Pompey fled from the danger ; and the troops of Cæsar penetrated Spain. Having secured every thing behind him, Cæsar pursued his rival, and their hostile forces met in dreadful conflict upon the plains of Pharsalia.

Cæsar conquered ; and with the bat

^b Now Rugone, or Fiumesino.

tle Pompey seems to have lost his fortitude and recollection. Without a renewed effort to recover his honour, he slunk into his camp ; and having clothed himself in mean attire, rode off in full speed. At a convenient distance he quitted his horse, and found the means of being conducted to Mitylene. There he met his wife Cornelia, with some of her friends, who were waiting with hope rather than anxiety ; for they had heard of Cæsar's flight from Dyrrhachium, but knew not the depth of his designs, nor the disaster which had happened at Pharsalia. The messenger who announced the arrival of Pompey saw the smile of expectation on the cheek of Cornelia ; and his tears expressed the sad tale, which oppressive grief denied him words to utter.

Deep was the sorrow of Cornelia, when she saw the state of their ruined affairs, and beheld the once powerful Pompey sunk into the condition of an unprotected and hopeless fugitive. This

forlorn and distracted Roman turned his thoughts many ways for comfort and redress, and at last determined to seek in Egypt the shelter and the shade. Where, if not in Egypt, could he have expected the arms of friendship and the hand of relief? for Ptolemy Auletes, the father of the present king, had experienced the friendship of Pompey, and by his direction was restored to his kingdom. Ptolemy Dionysius was at this time near Pelusium, where he had collected the armies of Egypt to oppose the troops of Syria, which Cleopatra his banished but spirited queen had procured in his favour, and attached to her interest. Thither Pompey steered his ships, and when near the Egyptian shore, he acquainted Ptolemy with his situation and his hopes.

But Dionysius was scarcely thirteen years of age, and he was directed in his councils by Achilles and Photinus, the regents of the kingdom. A party from the Egyptian camp was sent to the ships

of Ptolemy ; but the general appearance of the detachment excited alarm. It was neither suitable to the dignity of Ptolemy, nor the rank of Pompey ; and there was no appearance of friendship or protection. The friends of Pompey, suspected the intention, and requested him to avoid the snare ; but the Egyptian gallies were at hand ; the prospect of escape was doubtful ; and Pompey, with a few attendants, quickly stept into the Egyptian boat. Deep reserve sat upon the brow of the party, till Pompey himself introduced a subject of discourse. Marking one of the company whose features were familiar to him, he paused, and then addressed him in the following terms : ‘ Fellow soldier, have not
‘ you and I formerly ranked under the
‘ same banner ?’ It was Septimius, who had fought with Pompey in the battles of Rome ; but his abandoned mind could not feel the impulse of affection, or patriotic love ; and upon a signal given, he was the first man to strike a

blow. Pompey fell by repeated wounds, and yielded quietly to his fate. Cornelia and her friends saw the deed with horror; and, cutting their cables, they run from the cruel shore, to mix at a distance their tears of anguish with the briny flood.

The assassins cut off the head of Pompey, and carried it with savage triumph to the king, but they left the trunk on the bloody sand. This singular and tragical event drew people in crowds to the shore, and among the giddy multitude, even in a foreign country, Pompey's fate could not be viewed with indifference. Philip, his freedman and faithful servant, waited by the body till the crowd retired; then washed it in sea-water, wrapt it in his garment, and sought materials for a funeral pile. The remains of an old boat were fortunately procured, and eagerly applied to the work of humanity. As he was engaged in the lonely cheerless task, there came to his aid an old Roman, who had often

been with Pompey in the field of danger.^c L. Lentulus too, sailed from Cyprus, without knowing what was done in Egypt; yet his mind was sunk in sorrow for the disastrous battle of Pharsalia; and, upon seeing the smoke and flame of a funeral pile upon the Egyptian beach, he felt the forebodings of woe, and expressed himself in the language of anxious fear: ‘and what stranger,’ said he, ‘has finished his days, and left his shattered frame, upon that dreary shore? Ah! Pompey, perhaps thou art the man!’

Thus perished Pompey, who was honoured by Sylla with the appellation of

^c The body, when but imperfectly reduced to ashes, was hastily buried in the sand. That the rude gale might not uncover the sacred ashes, the place of their rest was covered with a stone; and to render the spot more venerable, the imperfectly formed tomb was inscribed with the name of Pompey the Great. This humble memorial of fallen greatness was raised upon the shore not far from Pelusium, and near Mount Casius. It was often honoured by future visitants, and magnificently adorned by the emperor Adrian. Dio. Cassius, lib. xlii, c. 6, & lib. lxi, c. 11, cum notis.

the Great. He excelled in the graces of domestic society, and he fulfilled his promises with honour and fidelity. Toward Cæsar he was more generous than prudent; and in prosperity he had too much confidence and too little caution. In triumphs he was more honoured than any man; for if not more numerous, they were more peculiar. His first was over Africa; his second over Europe; and his third over Asia. In the day of victory, he was merciful, and, in his general conduct, humane; but we must blame his weakness and jealousy in stopping Lucullus in the career of his glory, and superseding him in the government of Syria. When sole consul he framed wise laws; but did not correctly observe them. His conflict with Cæsar made it appear that he was rather qualified to shine in prosperity than buffet successfully the storms of adversity. In the whole of Pompey's diversified career, we see much to be admired, though also many things worthy of blame. His

vices were rather those of vanity and inconsideration, than malignity or deliberate guilt. They were rather the weaknesses of human nature, than the acquired habits of a depraved mind. He was ambitious, but gentle; brave, but unfortunate. He rose to eminence but to be speedily hurled down to the depths of destruction.

Cæsar having made arrangements for preserving his power, went in pursuit of Pompey, upon the third day after the battle of Pharsalia; and found, on the most careful inquiry, that he had gone to Egypt. Thither also he directed his course, and landed in that country with several ships, 800 horse, and more than 3000 foot. The rest of his army was sent in different directions to secure the advantages of his victory; and, trusting to his fame, he expected a friendly reception from the king of Egypt. If the ministers of Ptolemy were treacherous and cruel to Pompey, who was divested of power, they were anxious to secure

the goodwill of Cæsar, who was then at the helm of the Roman republic. In hopes of giving him pleasure, they presented to him the head of Pompey ; but he turned with horror from the sad spectacle ; and when he was shewn the ring of his rival, he eased the fulness of his heart by a flood of tears.^b It has been doubted whether those expressions of sorrow were real or feigned ; for ambition like Cæsar's blunts the feelings, and stifles the tender emotions. But why should we deny Cæsar the honour of a sigh, and the indulgence of a genuine tear ? Though he sought the overthrow, he might not wish for the death, of Pompey ; and if he did, when the catastrophe happened, why should not his heart recoil, and the strength of enmity yield to the impressions of feeling and regret. Cæsar had been Pompey's associate, and the memorials of depart-

^b Cæs. de bell. civ. lib. iii ; and Liv brev. cxii.

ed greatness testified the instability of power and fame. In the ghastly lineaments of Pompey's countenance, might not Cæsar read, in dark forebodings, the awful destiny of his own lot?

As Cæsar was thus affected by the death of Pompey, the Egyptians began to apprehend that he had arrived with intentions of revenge; and their whole councils were alarmed. The tumults, which broke out in Alexandria, shewed in what manner the city was affected; and Cæsar had every thing to fear. To preserve peace among his soldiers, he was anxious to be regular in his payments; and therefore he demanded from Egypt the arrears which were due to him from Ptolemy Auletes. Accustomed to the depredations of war, Cæsar perhaps accompanied his demands with severe exactions; but means were artfully employed to render Cæsar and his claims unpopular.

But what completed the aversion to Roman power was the high tone of au-

thority with which Cæsar commanded both Ptolemy and Cleopatra to disband their armies, and submit the subject of their disputes to him. Fearing lest Cæsar should have recourse to the will of Ptolemy X, which bequeathed to Rome the kingdom of Egypt; and indignant that an independent nation should be arrogantly required to yield to foreign authority, the flame of enmity and discord burnt with so much the greater rage. Cæsar assured them that he had no wish to exercise undue authority over the people of Egypt; but as the late king had left his children under the tuition of Rome, so, in the capacity of dictator, he was desirous of restoring Egypt to harmony and peace. Satisfied with this explanation, the parties agreed to produce their respective claims, and abide by the decision of Cæsar.

Here Cleopatra displayed her artifice, and resolved to try the influence of her charms. In the night time she landed

in the bay of Alexandria, and was dexterously conveyed into the apartments of Cæsar. Enraptured with the elegance, the beauty, and the address, of Cleopatra, Cæsar could not conceal the emotions which he felt; and Ptolemy apprehending partial judgment rushed into the streets, frantic with rage, but was immediately seized by the Roman soldiers, and brought back to Cæsar. The whole city was in an uproar; but Cæsar appeased their fury, and, according to the will of the late king, gave the kingdom jointly to Ptolemy and Cleopatra. In token of friendship, he restored the island of Cyprus, and conferred it on the younger son and younger daughter of Ptolemy Auletes.

These just and generous arrangements reconciled the king and the queen, and pleased every person but the eunuch Photinus, who had been the disturber of the royal house, and who was now in danger of dislike and punishment. Therefore to avert the evil which was

suspended over his head, he boldly asserted that Cleopatra would not bear a partner in the government ; that Cæsar would support her in all her pretensions ; and that Egypt would be governed by the influence of Rome. Having made deep impressions upon the country, Achillas, the commander in chief, poured his troops into Alexandria, and took possession of the harbour with his ships, that he might cut off Cæsar from a supply of provisions or troops. But the Roman hero and dictator boldly repelled his foes, and set fire to the ships ; but unfortunately the flames reached that part of the city which was called Bruchium, and consumed it, together with the noble library of the museum.*

Though Cæsar was successful in these engagements, yet he was soon obliged to assume only a posture of defence ; for his troops, which at first were few, had suffered much by disease and death.

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlii, p. 326, &c. ; and Plut. in Cæsar.

He skilfully fortified the quarter of the town which he possessed, and waited with impatience for the expected reinforcements. Photinus, who was in the house of Cæsar, attending the young king, had been suspected of fomenting intestine discord, but now he was detected in the act of treachery, and Cæsar put him to death. His associate Ganymedes privately withdrew from the city, and secretly conveyed to the army Arsinoë, the younger sister of the queen. To animate the troops she was proclaimed queen of Egypt; but Ganymedes was a crafty ambitious man, and had higher objects in view. He aimed at the chief command in the state, and therefore by false accusations cut off Achilles, who was at the head of the army. Possessing deep discernment and splendid abilities, he harassed Cæsar in the extreme; and practised against him both powerful military movements, and artful perplexing designs.

During the inundations of the Nile,

water was conveyed into Alexandria by a canal, and was preserved in vaults under the city, for the supply of the inhabitants in those seasons when the overflowing waters of the river had retired. Ganymedes stopped the communication of the water between the division of the city where Cæsar was, and the other parts of Alexandria ; and by throwing a stream of salt water into Cæsar's district, rendered the whole reservoirs unfit for use. But the Roman general being fertile in resources, and accustomed to the hardships of war, dug wells, and found a sufficient supply of water.^b

Repeatedly was Cæsar in danger by sea, as well as by land ; but as often was he crowned with success. In the most difficult situations his presence of mind never forsook him ; and his self-possession was particularly displayed, when, with a party of his soldiers, he was driven

^b Hirtius de bell, Alex. c. v & 6.

by Ganymedes from the mole of the Pharos. In the hurry and trepidation of danger, so many soldiers rushed into a small boat, that it sunk among the raging billows; but Cæsar swam to a neighbouring vessel, holding in his hand above the water, his Commentaries, and other papers of value. The Egyptians attempted to accomplish by stratagem what they could not do by force; and to unite the people and armies under one head they solicited Cæsar to set the king at liberty. Their request was accompanied with professions of peace; and though Cæsar suspected their design, yet, with the greatest indulgence, he granted their petition. Ptolemy expressed his unwillingness to depart, and when urged to comply, he shed tears, and vowed everlasting friendship. But scarcely had he mingled with the Egyptian courtiers, when he violated his faith, intercepted provisions which were destined for Cæsar, and occasioned an engagement at sea, near the Canopic

branch of the Nile. Both parties suffered considerable loss. Some Rhodian vessels, in the interest of Rome, were defeated; but the arms of Cæsar were victorious.

Roman auxiliaries from the east, having now entered Egypt, took Pelusium, and the cry of additional danger was heard at Alexandria. Instantly the whole troops were assembled, and the armies of Egypt met with armies of Rome in battle array. The correct discipline of the Romans, and the superior address of their generals, overcame the spirited, but tumultuous valour of the Egyptian forces. Ptolemy the young king perished in crossing a branch of the Nile; and the whole of Egypt was now in subjection to Cæsar.*

B. c. 47.—Cæsar now clothed Cleopatra in the full powers of royalty, though, to save appearances, Ptolemy, her

* Dio Cassius. lib. xlii, p. 330 & 331; and Appian, lib. ii, p. 786, &c.

only remaining brother, a youth in the 11th year of his age, was placed with her upon the throne. These arrangements were made in the month of January; yet it was not till the latter end of April that Cæsar was torn, and that with reluctance, from the endearments of Alexandria. There is not an event in the whole history of human passions and pursuits which is more astonishing and dishonourable than the long residence of Cæsar in Egypt. Though he pursued Pompey to the shores of that country, he should have returned with speed into Europe; and though by the Etesian winds, his ships were shut up for a season in the harbours of Egypt, yet it was his business to have travelled by land into Syria, and thence to have prosecuted his journey to Rome. Upon what principles of policy, honour, or advantage, could he spend his time in the impure embraces of the Egyptian queen, when the most eventful movements in every province of Rome had an immediate

reference to him. How could he indulge himself in low pursuits, when the fate of a mighty empire waited, in awful suspense for his important decision. His favourite propensity was the love of power; and to procure what he so much desired, he had spent profusely, and by undue measures supplied his extravagant waste. For it he corrupted the depositaries of trust and power; for it he formed friendships, and wantonly violated them; and for it by the havoc of war, he covered the empire with mourning; and yet that darling, that highest object of ambition, was forgotten in Egypt, for shameful dalliance with the false, but beautiful, Cleopatra.

Much might have been lost by this improper and criminal delay, for, while on a former occasion, his fate was doubtful during his stay at Dyrrhachium, some of his friends hesitated, and others changed sides, so while he continued in Egypt, his adherents stood amazed, and his enemies acquired strength. Mark Antony,

whom he constituted next to himself in command, was assiduous and active in his service; but there were dangers in the state, and these not a few. The sons of Pompey were renewing their interests in Spain; and in various parts of the empire, the cause of their father was not forgotten. But the chief point of danger was in Africa, where Cato and other partisans of the republic joined with Juba king of Numidia and Mauritania; and, if they had known the real state of Cæsar's affairs, they might have marched with success and triumph to Rome.

Cæsar was roused from his infatuated indulgence by the movements of Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, or straits of Caffa. He took advantage of the agitated state of the Roman republic, and attempted to regain the possessions of his father in Pontus.²

² Hir. de bell. Alex. c. 38, &c.

Before Cæsar departed from Alexandria, he regulated the affairs of Egypt, and confirmed to the Jews the whole privileges which had ever been granted to them in that country. To secure the tranquillity of Egypt, Arsinoë, Cleopatra's sister, was sent to Rome, and there, by savage treatment, she was led in chains, to grace Cæsar's triumph, and afterwards banished into Asia. In Syria, Cæsar obtained an easy victory over Pharnaces, and settled the contending factions of Judea, by appointing Hyrcanas high priest and tributary king of Jerusalem. Then he returned to Rome, from which he had been absent about the space of two years. There he corrected many disorders which anarchy had occasioned; boldly suppressed a mutiny among his troops, and, landing in Africa, he defeated the republican party in the memorable battle of Thapsus. Then he returned to Italy, and, having exhibited repeated triumphs, he passed into Spain, and there he vanquished the remainder

of Pompey's party who dared to appear in battle array.^b

Honours continued to be heaped upon Cæsar, and various unsuccessful attempts were made to have him proclaimed king. But ever since the expulsion of the Tarquins, the name of king had been detested at Rome ; and when the citizens were expressing their dislike to the title, Cæsar artfully, though with reluctance, joined in the general cry. But all the functions of the republic were suppressed, except in appearance ; and Cæsar being really in possession of absolute power, the courtiers vied with one another who could bend lowest before the exalted chair of the Conqueror. But there were many sturdy minds which revered ancient forms, and could not brook the majesty of upstart power. There was a law too in the state, that no stranger could be the wife of a Roman citizen ; and hence Titus, who be-

^b Dio Cass. p. 335, &c.

came a respected emperor, was forced by public disapprobation and censure to part with his beloved wife Berenice, whom he had married in Judea. But while Cleopatra was upon a visit to Cæsar at Rome, he not only lived with her in notorious wantonness in his villa and gardens upon the Tyber, but he also intended to make her his wife. For this purpose Marius Cinna, the tribune of the people, was enjoined to have a law passed in the Comitia, that a Roman citizen might marry whomsoever he pleased, and take to himself an unlimited number of wives; but temporary causes, and at last the death of Cæsar, prevented the completion of the scheme. Hence the connection which afterwards subsisted between Antony and Cleopatra was denominated unlawful and vile.* The murmurs, which were variously excited, grew till they terminated in revenge,

* Sueton. in Jul. et Tit. Cæsar, et Dio Cass. p. 361, et Vir. lib. viii, v. 688. 'Sequiturque nefas! Egyptiaca conjux.'

and Cæsar was murdered in presence of the senate upon the ides of March, or 15th day of that month.^d

Julius Cæsar was a polite scholar, and his Commentaries remain an honourable monument of his simple, pure, and elegant diction. Deep was he in council, and great in war; and when but 16 years of age, he was priest of Jupiter. Through streams of blood he waded to supreme power; but when vested with sovereign authority, he was moderate, and little given to revenge. In his circumstances we see the danger of infringing the liberties of a country, and, in his murder, we see envy, indignation, and ambition, mixed with patriotism, and a high sense of freedom. Who, possessed of a genuine Roman spirit, could, without emotions, see the lamp of their country's liberties extinguished, and yet the situation of the Roman empire was then so hopeless, that the free-

^d Dio Cass. lib. xlv, p. 415, et Suet. in Jul. Cæsar.

dom of the country could not be preserved. From small beginnings Rome had extended her empire till the unwieldly members bore no proportion to the head. The returning tide of riches corrupted the capital, and amid the wreck of morals, the price of public and important offices were openly, and without reserve, both given and received.

The empire had become too large for a republic, corruption had too far extended the popular influence, and between the senate and people, the balance of power was destroyed. Could a due proportion of virtue have again been inspired into the citizens of Rome, liberty might have been revived; but while the same sources of corruption remained, similar effects must have ensued, and while public virtue was so rare, Rome must have fallen, though Cæsar had never been born. In this situation of affairs, no benefit could flow from the death of Cæsar, and therefore when he was cut off, absolute masters

seized Rome in their grasp. Their struggle for power shook the empire, and its strength has never returned. Splendid were many of the appointments of Rome, and high-toned in its best days were the liberties of the city, but they were overwhelmed by the currents of corruption before they could diffuse their genuine blessings through the various branches of the extensive empire.

CHAP. IV.

What happened upon the death of Julius Cæsar. . . . A triumvirate formed and broken. . . . Cleopatra summoned to appear before Antony. . . . This general enamoured of the Egyptian queen. . . . The evils which this occasioned. . . . The battle of Actium. . . . Antony and Cleopatra's death. . . . Octavianus, under an appearance of moderation, governs at Rome. . . . He is called Augustus. . . . His death and character.

UPON the death of Cæsar the whole of Rome was in consternation: his murderers fled to the Capitol: and Antony, with the most distinguished friends of the dictator, durst not venture abroad. During the temporary calm which ensued, an act of oblivion was obtained; and the arrangements and decrees of Cæsar were confirmed. But M. Antony aimed at the command of the state; and for this purpose the re-

publican party was to be destroyed. The conspirators fled from the city; and some of them hastened to those stations, to which they had been previously appointed. Cassius went into Syria, and Brutus into Macedonia; but Antony being jealous of their power had Dollabella nominated to the latter province, and himself to the former. In the meantime there appeared C. Octavius, the grand nephew and adopted son of the dictator. When he appeared at Brundisium there were many who espoused his interests, and he changed his name into C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. This youth, who was but eighteen years of age, manifested address and management above his years. Antony soon felt the power of his designs; and after a personal intercourse they parted in mutual enmity. Ere long, however, a coalition was formed among Antony, Lepidus, and Octavianus; and it was sealed with the professed intention of avenging Cæsar's death; but it was

their own aggrandisement which the parties pursued ; and in their mad career they threw down the fences of friendship, virtue, and piety. Jealousy and fear stalked ghastly in the deserted streets of Rome ; and lowring suspicion entered the sacred abodes of family peace. In short, the coalition was a covenant of blood : the lives of connections and kindred were paid for the agreement ; and the virtuous Cicero fell by the resentment of Antony.*

The triumvirate was soon broken, and the discordant materials were shaken asunder. Lepidus was forsaken, as of little importance to their strength. Octavianus grasped the most important provinces in the west ; but Antony was conspicuous in the battle of Philippi, where Cassius fell, and where the republic of Rome expired with Brutus. Syria and the provinces of the east were allotted to

* Appian. de bell. civ. lib. iii, vol. 2. p. 861 ; edit. Amstelodami, 8vo. A. D. 1670.

the care and protection of Antony. Travelling toward the objects of his destination, he exposed the people to heavy imposts ; and having arrived at Tarsus, he commanded Cleopatra to leave Egypt, and appear before him. Upon the death of Cæsar, Cleopatra was in reality attached to those who professed to avenge his cause ; and there were four Roman legions in Egypt, which she was sending to the aid of Dolabella governor of Syria. These legions were intercepted by Cassius, and therefore Antony thought, or pretended, that she was hostile to him, and his colleague Octavius. If Cleopatra had been his enemy, he might have treated her as such ; but upon what authority could he command an independent queen to leave her country, and in a foreign land wait on a Roman general. Upon whatever pretence he summoned Cleopatra to appear before him, it is to be presumed, that he was influenced by a softer passion than that of resentment.

The fame of Cleopatra's beauty and elegance, had probably awakened the tenderest feelings, and having seen her perhaps in all her bloom and attractions, while in Italy with Julius Cæsar, he might be deeply captivated with her charms. If Cleopatra had not been induced by other motives than those of obedience to Antony, much as she respected, and perhaps feared, Rome, she would have spurned at his commands, and shewn her indignation. But having conquered Julius Cæsar, and held him in her chains, she was disposed, we may presume, through vanity and wantonness to try her power also upon M. Antony.^a

Whatever were the objects which Cleopatra had in view, she went aboard a galley and sailed for Cilicia. The superb vessel which conveyed her to Antony appears to have been of that con-

^a Dio. Cass. p. 543 ; Plut. in Ant. ; & Appian. lib. iv. vol. 2, p. 1002 ; et lib. v, p. 1077.

struction which is peculiarly described by Abdollatif.^c The deck was covered; and, upon a platform projecting in the manner of a balcony, there was a chamber finished in a vaulted or pavilion like form. Adjoining there were various apartments; and the whole was fitted to accommodate persons of rank and their suit. The galley was painted, gilded, and finished, in a superb and beautiful manner. When Cleopatra entered the river Cydnus, the banks resounded with the delightful music of her band; and the incense, which was burnt, diffused the most pleasing fragrance. The appearance of a personage so august, and the unusual splendour of her approach, so powerfully attracted the multitude, that in the hall of audience Antony was left alone.

The festival intercourses of Antony and Cleopatra were frequent, and in these

^c History of Egypt, p. 173.

the Egyptian profusion far outshone the Roman splendour. Cleopatra lavished upon Antony a multitude of costly gifts, and to shew her magnificence she displayed two costly pearls. One of them she dissolved in an acid, and swallowed in a draught; but the other, Plancus, the friend of Antony, solicited, and obtained as a favour. In imitation of Cleopatra, C. Caligula dissolved pearls; and the son of Æsopus Claudius, a rich Roman comedian, discovered his folly and extravagance in the same manner.*

But the weightier affairs of government must be pursued by Antony in the east; and Cleopatra, having parted with him at Tyre, returned to Egypt. In the absence of the queen, there was no rest for the enraptured Antony: she had carried with her his affections; and all his happiness centered in her. Leaving therefore deputies in his provincial govern-

* Sueton. in C. Callig.; et Horat. lib. ii, sat. 3, v. 239, &c.

ment, he followed her to Egypt; and there he spent the winter in voluptuous dissipation. In these moments of licentious indulgence, he sacrificed the young princess Arsinoë to the corrupt ambition of her sister Cleopatra. She was living in retirement at Miletus; and none but a man frantic with passion, and habituated to blood, could ever have again permitted one ray of affection to glance on Cleopatra, who had deliberately burst the tenderest chords of affection, and unfeelingly destroyed an unoffending sister. But still Antony loved, or rather doated, to madness; and with reluctance was he torn from Egypt, to deliver the provinces in the east from the power of Parthia.^c

Antony set sail for Phœnicia, but was obliged to turn his attention to Rome. At Athens he met his wife Fulvia, who justly chid him for his behaviour in Egypt; and he blamed her conduct, and that of

^c Plut. in Ant.

his brother Lucius, for rashly offending Cæsar Octavianus. As Antony was afterwards journeying toward Rome, in a season of success, he heard of Fulvia's death, made an agreement with Octavianus, and cemented the union, by marrying his sister Octavia, who was a woman of great merit, and had lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus.^a While Antony was at Rome, Herod arrived from Judea, to enter a complaint against the Parthians, who had driven Hyrcanus from Jerusalem. By cutting off his ears too, they had acted with unjustifiable cruelty, and had rendered him incapable of being high priest of the Jews; for by the law of Moses none who was blemished could hold that venerable office.^b But the object which Herod had especially in view, was to solicit the kingdom for his bro-

^a Liv. brev. 127.

^b Levit. ch. xxi, v. 17.

ther-in-law Aristobulus ; but Antony having high esteem for Herod himself, offered the crown to him ; and Octavianus gave a ready assent, on account of the important services which he rendered to Julius Cæsar in Egypt.^d

After various transactions, Antony, with the view of penetrating Parthia, left the west, and returned into Syria. Octavia accompanied him to Corcyra ; but thinking it more suitable to watch over her children than to live in a camp, she returned to Rome, and added to her own family the children whom Fulvia had born to M. Antony. It was to have been supposed, that the virtuous endearments of Octavia would have worn out the illicit impressions of the Egyptian queen ; but still Antony remembered the charms of Cleopatra, and eagerly sought the renewal of her vows. It is uncertain whether he went directly to Asia or Egypt, but Cleopatra

^d Prid. book 7, part 2.

soon appeared with him in Syria, and had the full possession of his heart. Being about to undertake a march into Parthia, he resolved to confer upon his Egyptian favourite some signal marks of affection. To this end he put into her possession Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Cœlo-Syria, together with part of Cilicia: and in giving her the command of those countries, he intended to strengthen her dominions, lest he should never return to assist or protect her.^c

Having finished these previous arrangements, he marched with his army toward Parthia; but he had spent so much of the season with Cleopatra, that he could not before winter accomplish so distant an expedition; and, therefore, he directed his troops against the Medes, who had joined the Parthians in their late invasion of Syria. There he met with unexpected hardships, and retreated, but with such perseverance and skill,

^c Plut. in Ant.

as raised him high in the rank of generals. Thus he arrived with his army in Armenia; and there in the country of an ally he ought to have spent the winter, for the roads were deep, and the hills covered with snow; but the same criminal attachment to Cleopatra, which detained him too long in Syria, before his departure into the east, prompted him now, at every hazard, to return without delay.

No sooner did he arrive in Syria, than he gave notice of his return to Cleopatra, and she hastened to meet and bid him welcome. Money and clothes were plentifully distributed to comfort the shattered remains of the army; and Antony departed with Cleopatra into Egypt. The fate of Pompey's house might have shewn Antony the precarious nature of surreptitious power; the unexpected destruction of Julius Cæsar, might have warned him how dangerous it is to stand high on the pinnacle of glory suddenly acquired; and the uni-

formly aspiring views of Octavianus might have forewarned him of what he had to fear from so dangerous a rival; but every thing honourable was lost in scenes of Egyptian dissipation. His ambition continued, but was chiefly directed to gratify his own vanity.

Antony still desired to enter Parthia, and to inflict on that nation the vengeance of Rome. What he so much desired he was soon invited to perform, for the king of Media solicited his aid against the Parthian monarch; and the Roman general made great and immediate preparations for so vast a project. The fame of this intended expedition was wafted to Rome, and Octavia resolved to meet her lord, on his way through Syria. She knew the infidelity of Antony, and lamented his indiscretion; but she was in hopes, that by a friendly interview, he might return to reason and to virtue. She took with her costly presents, and was escorted by 2,000 chosen troops, which were equip-

ped in the same manner as the Prætorian bands, that guarded the person of Octavianus. The proceedings of Octavia were made known to Cleopatra in Egypt, and they filled her with serious alarms. She was afraid that the chaste virtues of Octavia would take possession of Antony's heart, and for ever make him abandon the tumultuous pleasures of riot and intemperance.

Seized by the powerful effects of jealous fear, she heightened the scene by that artful management, which her charms and experience enabled her to do. She sought solitude, and refused to be comforted: the pleasures of the table and the attractions of music gave no delight: she became pale and emaciated, and seemed to be hastening toward the grave. Affecting to conceal her grief, the starting tear told her woe, and amidst this high wrought scene of real and pretended sorrow, Antony was told, that if he must go to Parthia, he must do it at the expence of Cleopatra's life.

The dangers of so distant an expedition were stated as the occasion of her affliction, but the cause lay deeper in the regions of love; and in a personal conference with Antony she persuaded him to remain at Alexandria, and order Octavia to return from Athens to Rome.

When the object of her apprehensions was removed, Antony was permitted to go into the east, and Cleopatra attended him to the banks of the Euphrates. While they tarried in Syria, she exercised the power which she possessed over his heart, to obtain from him more possessions, and to procure, among her other acquirements, the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Arabia. But devoted as he was to the desires of Cleopatra, he refused to extend his donation beyond that part of Arabia, which bordered upon Egypt, together with the balsam gardens, which Herod possessed at Jericho. Upon her return from the Euphrates, she visited Herod at Jerusalem.

That king was not unacquainted with the injuries which she had attempted to do him, and he might now have indulged in deep revenge; but he treated her with ceremonious respect, and conducted her in safety to the confines of Egypt.^c

While Antony was in the east he attacked the king of Armenia, for the deceit which he had practised toward the Romans; and having become master of that kingdom he completed an alliance with the Medes, and returned to Egypt. He carried with him much booty, together with many prisoners; and in the manner of a Roman triumph entered Alexandria. Cleopatra appeared in the full pomp of eastern courts; and among the prisoners who were in his train, she was presented with the captive Artavasdes, or Artabazus, king of Armenia; but he retained the unbroken spirit of his dignity, and refused to bow the

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv, c. 5.

knee to the proud queen of Egypt. Festivity and riotous rejoicings continued for several days, while Antony and Cleopatra appeared in the fantastic dress of ancient Egyptian mythology; and the Roman triumvir in the pomp of fancy and imagination distributed provinces and kingdoms among the children of Cleopatra.^b

Upon the return of Octavia from Greece to Rome, she could not in the anguish of her soul conceal the severe treatment, which she had received from M. Antony, her unkind lord. Justly fired with indignation Octavianus vented his rage; but while he sought to avenge the wrongs of his sister, he had higher objects in view; and, therefore, without regarding her prayers and tears of intercession, he made Antony odious at Rome. Female sufferings in a peculiar manner excite compassion; and the dig-

^b Dio Cass. p. 598.

nified sorrow of Octavia sunk deep into every heart. In this tone of the public mind Octavianus charged Antony with malversations in office, and with perfidy to Rome. He led the minds of the people in idea to his scenes in Egypt, and displayed them in all their folly and guilt. In reply to these charges Antony accused Octavianus of duplicity and unbounded ambition. He impeached him with driving Lepidus from his station as triumvir, that he might increase his own power, and usurp to himself the whole dominion of Italy, and the western provinces. These recriminations were made at a distance, and the trumpet of intestine war had not yet sounded its dreadful alarm, but each of them was secretly preparing for what might ensue, and strengthening his hands for the important struggle. Domitius and Sosius, in their consular capacity at Rome, made some bold proposals in favour of Antony ; but to prevent their effect, Octavianus loudly de-

clared, that the term of the triumvirate had expired; and he commanded Antony to return to Rome, and lay down his delegated power at the feet of the senate.

When these declarations reached the ear of Antony, he wrote a bill of divorce, and sent it to Octavia. Dropping his designs against Parthia, he swore, at the head of his troops, that he would speedily march to Rome, and deliver Italy from the power of a tyrant. He put his troops immediately in motion, and met his ships at Ephesus. Here Cleopatra appeared in Antony's tent; but so dissolute was their conduct, and so totally inconsistent with the decency of society, as well as the severities of war, that Antony's best friends advised the Egyptian queen to depart for Alexandria. Alarmed at this proposal, she employed much artifice and address to prevent its being enforced. It was strenuously maintained, that she who had provided so much money, and so

many ships, had great interest in the success of the campaign; and that her wise counsels were of the last importance in managing an undertaking so hazardous and vast. Arguments, so much according with the desires of Antony, could not fail of their effect; and the Egyptian queen continued in the Roman camp. Every where the power and commands of Antony insured tokens of respect; but the licentious conduct of him and Cleopatra were subjects of murmuring and deep regret. Several of his friends, leaving the camp, took shelter under the wing of Octavianus; and their reports, tinged with disgust, filled up the measure of Antony's condemnation. He was divested of his powers, as triumvir, and stripped of all authority in the Roman government, Cleopatra was held forth, as aspiring to be mistress of Rome, and as desirous of governing the bold warriors of the republic, by the effeminate rulers of Alexandria. She and Antony were openly

accused of attempting to grasp the glory of Rome, and transfer the seat of government to the capital of Egypt.^c

So much had Antony the start of Octavianus, that if he had stationed his fleet at Brundusium, and led his army toward Rome, he would have shaken the strength of his rival, and added to the party of his own friends. Though the residence of Octavianus in Italy had given him the advantage over Antony, yet the impolitic measures and severe exactions of the former had prepared the minds of the people for casting off the yoke. The sober and discerning part of the nation wished success neither to the one rival nor the other ; for they had long mourned among the ruins of their country, and in silent sorrow waited for the return of liberty and order. Yet even these persons, detesting the ambition of Octavianus, might have cast their influence into the scale of An-

^c Dio Cass, lib. 1, p. 606; et Hor. lib. i, ode 37.

tony, with the view of obtaining a temporary pause, that the friends of the republic might acquire strength. But the wavering conduct of Antony shewed the natural indecision of his mind, and a long train of effeminate pleasures had rendered it more faint and feeble. While success, or a temporary triumph, seemed to stand on tiptoe, and invite his approach, he shrunk from the proffered boon, and stood in the attitude of fear and inaction.

When Antony retired without striking a blow, Octavianus improved to his own advantage the irresolution and weakness of his rival. Forthwith he increased his forces, and, sailing for Epirus, took his station at Toryne, on the one side of the gulf of Ambracia, while Antony was posted at Actium, on the other. Here the most of the summer was spent in mutual acts of partial and indecisive hostilities. After various councils, in which it was proposed that Antony should go to Egypt and procure

additional forces, the general opinion declared for immediate action. The fate of Rome was now on the point of decision, when Antony or Octavianus must be lord of the empire.

B. C. 31.—About noon, upon the 2^d of September, the signal of battle was given, and the fleets hastened to a close engagement. There was a dead calm, and the smooth surface of the water being soon tinged by the blood of the slain, presented a spectacle of awe and terror. Cleopatra, in the fulness of ambitious expectations, continued to view the engagement in the hottest point of the battle, till, overcome by anxiety and fear, she fled from the scene of horror. Antony observing Cleopatra, and marking the ships which followed her, directed his course in pursuit. If his intention was to allay the fears of the queen, and bring back the ships to the battle, it does not appear that he attempted to realize his purpose, but sailed forward in a delirium of disappoint-

ment and despair. Having reached the queen's ship, he was affectionately taken on-board ; but so completely was he overwhelmed, that he was incapable of activity or reason. In this state of dishonour and shame he sailed by the coast of Peloponnesus, till he arrived at Tenaros, or cape Matapan ; and there he was informed by some who had escaped from the battle that his rival was master of the seas. But there was still hope by land ; for Canidius, the friend and general of Antony, remained in his station, and waited for his master's orders. If speedily succoured, the fortune of the war might have been reversed ; but, in obedience to perverse counsels, Antony bent his course to Africa.

He landed at Parætonium, now called Albareton, which was a Lybian fortress, but retained in the possession of Egypt from the time that Lybia became a part of the Roman empire. There Antony had left a garrison of Roman soldiers, and in the day of his distress expected

to find them attached to his interest ; but the governor, Pinarius Scarpus, joined the sons of fortune, and declared for the cause of Octavianus. Being repulsed where he expected a cordial reception, there were awakened in the breast of Antony the keenest feelings of despair. Frequently did the point of his sword quiver at his breast ; and he would certainly have plunged it into his heart, if his friends had not averted the awful design.

Cleopatra in the meantime had arrived at Alexandria, but apprehensive of her reception, if the real circumstances of the case were known, she displayed at her landing the emblems of victory, and raised upon the shore shouts of joy.

Upon resuming the reins of active government, she cast into confinement, or put to death, the turbulent or suspected lords of the realm. But to provide for the worst, and to secure a retreat by the Red sea, she prepared to drag small vessels across the isthmus of

Suez ; and she built ships in the Arabian gulf : but her views in that quarter were totally defeated by the Arabians and the friends of Octavianus whom he had secured in Syria. Cleopatra was engaged in this abortive scheme, when Antony, having left Parætonium, arrived at Alexandria ; but he refused to enter the palace, to see the queen, or join society. In the agitations of a disappointed and disturbed mind, he retired to the shore, and took up his residence in a pavilion, which he called Timonium, because, like Timon the Athenian, he hated the world, and sought the peaceful gifts of solitude. The frowns of adversity sometimes rest on the brows of the deserving, who labour in vain to be fortunate ; but the sorrows of Antony sprung from ambition, folly, and licentiousness.

After the battle of Actium, Octavianus, as we have found, secured the interests of Syria. Mæcenus and Agrippa were appointed to offices at Rome ; and, to

watch the motions of Antony, the conqueror himself was stationed at Samos. There he adopted such measures as were most likely to secure his power. He punished or pardoned according to his pleasure, and exercised the high authority of a sovereign prince. The clamorous and unruly conduct of the veterans who had returned from the wars so much alarmed Mæcenas and Agrippa, that they requested Octavianus to interpose his presence, and reduce them to order. Arriving at Brundisium, he restored peace by a mixture of donations, promises, and threats, and then took his journey into Asia.^a

It was then the boisterous season of the year; and, to avoid the danger of sailing round the Peloponnesus, some gallies were dragged across the isthmus of Corinth; and Octavianus was in Asia Minor before it was expected he could have reached the Ionian sea. At Rhodes

^a Dio. Cass. lib. l, p. 636, &c.

he was met by Herod, the king of Judea, who stated to him without reserve the great obligations he lay under to Antony, and the high interest which he had taken in his favour; but he also informed him, that the conduct of that Roman had weaned him from his party, and that he was now ready to devote his most faithful services in favour of Octavianus and the cause of Rome. Upon Antony's return from Actium to Egypt, Herod had given him an advice to quit Cleopatra at whatever expence, that he might be restored to honour and virtue; but being unsuccessful in his attempt, he had now abandoned him to his fate. Though this advice of Herod might have partly proceeded from a desire of revenge upon Cleopatra, who had formerly attempted to do him an injury, yet it pointed out the only certain, though rugged and difficult, way of regaining power and commanding success. The frankness of Herod was so pleasing to Octavianus, that he gave him unequivocal

cal assurances of support ; and lifting up the crown, which the king of Judea had in token of submission laid at his feet, he placed it again upon Herod's head, and gave him the hand of friendship.^b

About this time Canidius arrived in Egypt, and acquainted Antony with the total dispersion of his troops, the dereliction of his friends, and the covenant which Herod had made with Octavianus. Antony was still in the pavilion of retirement, but the knowledge of his hopeless situation had produced a frenzy of dissipation, and he joined Cleopatra in the riotous pretensions of disregarding life. In the midst of these pursuits of despair, he sometimes cast a wistful look upon the world, and attempted to bribe the power or avert the fury of Octavianus. Their joint applications the conqueror uniformly rejected, but secretly encouraged Cleopatra to hope for terms

of honour and comfort. But nothing could bend his stubbornness toward Antony, who had been a dangerous as well as a powerful rival, and who had attempted to endanger the fortunes of Octavianus, by declaring Cesario, the son of Julius Cæsar by Cleopatra, to be the true and legitimate heir of his father.ⁿ

During these attempts toward negotiation, Octavianus never lost sight of his favourite object, but attacked Egypt both on the right hand and on the left. Antony flew to Parætonium, still in hopes to regain the soldiers who had formerly obeyed him; but Cornelius Gallus, who had succeeded Scarpus in the government, refused him admittance into the garrison, and by the sound of trumpets and the din of war prevented his address to the legions from being distinctly heard. Gallus vanquished the forces of Antony by land, and by a stratagem destroyed his ships in the har-

ⁿ Plut. in Ant.

bour. In the meantime Pelusium surrendered to Octavianus; and Antony, in a temporary effort of courage, hastened to Alexandria, and routed the Roman cavalry as they were entering the town. On the subsequent day, he was repulsed by the troops of Octavianus; and, upon a following occasion, when his fleet and army were both prepared to make one great and united effort, his ships surrendered without a struggle, and his forces by land declared for his fortunate rival.

Thus betrayed and abandoned, Antony's sorrows burst into despair: he challenged Octavianus, and threatened Cleopatra. The former, being in full possession of power, smiled at the empty threat, and the latter had adopted means to screen herself from his rage. After the taking of Pelusium, when undisguised accusations were made against her integrity, and while she was deeply suspected of treachery toward Antony, she attempted to avert his wrath by profes-

sions of sincere attachment ; but seeing the catastrophe drawing nigh, she put in practice the scheme which she had devised, and retired to the sepulchral monument which had been built near the tombs of her fathers. A report having been spread that Cleopatra had put an end to her days, Antony commanded one of his confidential servants to stain, with the blood of its master, that sword which, in the field of battle, had often shed the blood of his foes ; but the affectionate servant shrunk from the woeful deed, and, when urged to perform it, plunged the sword into his own bosom. But Antony pulling it from the wound of the servant, fell upon its point, and mingled his groans with those of his dying attendant. Antony did not instantly expire, and having heard that Cleopatra was also in life, he expressed a wish to be carried into her presence. Afraid of falling into the power of Octavianus, Cleopatra did not open the entrance into the monument where she

had taken refuge, but had Antony gently drawn up by cords and cushions, and received into the building by an aperture in the wall. Seeing him in the pangs of death, her regret and tender affections were touched, and the emotions of her soul threatened to overwhelm her. In the arms of Cleopatra he gave her his parting advice, indistinctly mentioned something of his own fate, and dropt into the lap of death.^a

B. C. 30.—Thus died Antony, on the first of August, eleven months after the battle of Actium, and in the 53^d, or, as others say, the 56th year of his age. His forehead was large, his nose aquiline, his beard long and graceful, and his whole appearance elegant and full of dignity: he was of a mild temper and affable manners; wise in council, and active in the field. To him must we chiefly ascribe the triumph at Philippi, as well as the success upon the plains of

^a Dio Cass. lib. li, p. 641, et Plut. in Ant.

Pharsalia ; but he was too much devoted to pleasure, and he fell a sacrifice to the pursuits of dissipation. In him were conspicuous astonishing reverses of fortune. He rose in influence till he bore rule over half the empire of Rome ; but ere long he fell from the height of power, and died without a friend in a land of strangers. As the hero himself had fallen, so his statues both in Egypt and Rome were thrown down and destroyed. For Cleopatra he forsook his family and divorced his wife ; for her he neglected the interests of his country ; and for her he lost his honour and his fame ; but mark in him the progress of vice, and behold the end of guilt ;—they lead to infamy, misery, and death.

Antony was seduced, betrayed, and abandoned, by the Egyptian queen ; but when his glory departed, her power became weakness ; and when his eyes were sealed by death, she was left without comfort, and exposed to the selfish views

of a pityless conqueror. No sooner was Antony dead, than alarming apprehensions occupied the mind of Cleopatra. She saw in imagination the beautiful, and the once admired, queen of Egypt bound in chains, and carried in triumph by the proud Octavianus. She figured to herself the people of Rome sending up shouts of joy at her affliction, rather than shedding a tear of generous feeling. In this situation of distress, C. Proculeius, a Roman knight, was sent to sooth her sorrow and cheer her mind ; but he was attended by an emancipated slave, who was ready to assist in securing her by force, if necessity required. They were refused admittance into the place of her retreat ; but by stratagem they found access into her presence, and she was taken prisoner.

Cleopatra was now removed to her palace, and treated with apparent respect ; but in spite of every pretension, she was in truth a prisoner of state. Still trusting to the power of her charms,

she solicited an interview with Octavianus, and an interview was obtained. For his reception in her palace, the most splendid preparations were made, the hall of audience was highly decorated, the bust and picture of Julius Cæsar were displayed, his letters of affectionate correspondence were exposed to view upon her table, and she was found weeping over them with plentiful tears. Dressed in mourning, she approached Octavianus as a suppliant, and attempted to move him to tenderness or compassion. His eyes were sternly fixed upon the floor, and his answers were civil, but not courteous. Having before obtained permission to bury Antony in the manner of the Egyptian kings, she was now allowed to visit and adorn his tomb. This was all the boon she could procure; and she wished in her heart that one sepulchre had received them both, for the conduct of Octavianus was sufficient to shew that her influence was gone, and her doom sealed.

Being now informed that Octavianus was about to return to Italy, and that she with her family were to be sent to Rome, she saw that nothing was left to her choice but disgrace or death. In this agitation of mind, she affected an unusual degree of cheerfulness, and invited her acquaintance to a splendid feast. In the midst of the banquet, she gave a letter to the servant of Octavianus, who had been appointed to watch her motions, and she commanded him to carry it to his master. Unsuspicious of any artifice, he did as he was required; but the letter made known her resolution, and requested the favour of being buried in Antony's tomb. To present her alive at Rome, and to adorn his triumph with the queen of Egypt, were anxiously desired by the Roman conqueror; and therefore to arrest the hand of death, he sent sudden messengers to the palace of Cleopatra. The guards were found in their usual situation, and there was no noise nor alarm

in the apartments, but Cleopatra was lifeless on the bed of death. One of her women in waiting had also expired, and another was sinking in the slumbers of dissolution. Amazement and terror seized the messengers; rage and disappointment distracted Octavianus; and every method was fruitlessly tried to restore Cleopatra to life. It was certainly poison which freed her from the tyrant's power, but how she received it remains unknown. While some affirm that there was no unnatural appearance upon her body, others assert that a small puncture was visible upon her left arm; and her death has thus been attributed to the venom of a Lybian or Egyptian asp.^a At the time of her death, she was only in the 39th year of her age, and she had reigned 22 of those over Egypt.

B. C. 29.—To the beauty and gracefulness of her person, Cleopatra added

^a Hor. lib. i, car. 37, v. 26, &c.; & Dio Cass. lib. li, p. 644.

the attractions of wit, affable manners, and high mental acquirements. Amid the pleasures and avocations of a court she ceased not to cultivate learning; and in addressing people of different languages, she astonished them with the correctness and fluency of her diction. Her understanding was enlightened, but her heart was corrupt. Ambition, vanity, and wantonness, were predominant passions in her soul; and by these she lost her power, her reputation, and finally her life. While there are some minds resolutely bent upon evil, others are drawn into temptation by the unfavourable circumstances of their lot. Cleopatra was born in troublesome times, and drew her first breath in the contagion of a licentious court. While in tender years, she was raised to the seducing eminence of a throne, and surrounded by a crowd of flatterers, who neither durst reprove, nor desired to correct, the increasing follies of her conduct.

Being beautiful, she was admired ; as a queen, she was addressed with adulation ; and possessing the means of indulgence, she yielded to pleasure in various forms. Let us not offer one excuse in favour of her crimes, because the knowledge and experience of riper years should have corrected the errors of early life ; but in reviewing so extraordinary a character, we have endeavoured to lead to the sources from which the streams of her indiscretion and misfortunes flowed. How many difficulties have they to struggle with, whose rank is high, and whose station is exalted ! Venerable, peculiarly worthy of respect, are they, who, amid the seducements of wealth and honours, choose the path, and walk in the way, of wisdom. While they live, they live in esteem ; and when they die, their memory is sacred, and held in respect.

In the full possession of Egypt, Octavianus returned to Rome, rejoicing in his success. But though he secretly aim-

ed at the sole command, yet he durst not immediately throw off the mask, and boldly avow his ambitious designs. Even in that feeble state of the republic, there were daring spirits which might have been roused to active defiance; and among the embers of the commonwealth there was still a spark which might have been blown into a flame. By promises and gifts, by lenient measures and profusion, by amusements and public shows, he hushed the people into indifference. In token of peace he shut the gates of Janus, which till then had never been closed but once from the commencement of the Roman republic.^b And, as a further security for peace, it was solemnly resolved, that the boundaries of the empire should not be enlarged.^c

Having struck off from the roll of the senate those members whom he suspect-

^b They had once been shut before during the reign of their kings, when Numa was upon the throne.

^c Dio Cassius, lib. v, p. 652.

ed, and having added such as he could trust, he offered to divest himself of every office in the state, and resign the whole powers into the hands of the senate and people. But he rested in confidence that his proffered resignation would not be accepted; and in conformity to his expectation, his friends entreated, with one voice, that he would not withdraw his aid, and suffer the nation to perish. With affected reluctance he yielded to their wish, but refused to have the whole superintendance of public affairs. He consented to retain the management of those provinces which were either but in part subdued, or which were most in danger of revolting; the rest were committed to the care of the senate. But to lay the foundation of increasing power, he artfully had it decreed, that the provinces under controul of the senate should be governed by a proconsul, with no other powers than those of a civil nature, while those under his own direction were to be go-

verned by a proprætor, in possession of military rank, and accountable only to Cæsar.

Each of these provincial officers was only to be in command for one year; and in the course of three months after his successor arrived in the province, he was to return to Rome and give an account of his management. So artfully did Octavianus sound the dispositions of the people, and so anxious was he to conceal his wish for power, that, by his own express desire, his nomination to those important trusts was only for the term of ten years; but the appointment was from time to time renewed, till he died in the full possession of the Roman empire. With this high command in the state, a new designation and title must also be conveyed; but it must be of that complexion which would neither excite jealousy nor rouse alarm. The name of king was proscribed, that of Romulus savoured too much of royalty, but as things venerable and

sacred were termed Augusta, so by the suggestion of Munatius Plancus, he was stiled Augustus.^d

Plancus, who had the honour of giving a title to the first emperor of Rome, was a man of elegant letters, and to him Horace affectionately addressed an ode.^e We have found him too in favour at the court of Cleopatra; but, amid the luxuries of that situation, the firmness of his mind gave way, and he displayed in his conduct the most extravagant folly. He was once the firm friend of Antony; but conceiving himself neglected, or abused, he left his party and went over to Octavianus. Augustus in his new station permitted the forms of the republic to remain, but by gradually uniting in his own person various important offices of the state, the whole powers soon centered in him.^f

^d Suet. in Cæsar. Aug.

^e Lib. i, carmen 7.

^f Dio Cass. lib. liii, p. 703, &c.

The character of Augustus has been variously drawn, and assumed its light or its shade according to the enmity or friendship of the person who cast it into shape. It embraced a mixture of vices and virtues, which are less or more incident to human life, but in him they were cherished and rendered more conspicuous by the eminence of his station. If we form our opinion of his character from the conduct which he observed toward Cleopatra, we shall blame his severity, and lament his want of feeling; for misfortunes are fitted to excite compassion, and the tears of pity blot out, or render the crimes of the afflicted less glaring. To resist the arts of the Egyptian queen, would, at first view, command our approbation and excite our esteem, for though her beauty had suffered by sorrow, yet her graces were more interesting by the melancholy air of her demeanour. That a man trained up in the dissipations of Rome, and rolling in the full tide of prosperity,

should firmly vanquish a passion which subdued Julius Cæsar, and overwhelmed Mark Antony, even in advanced years, is a view of his conduct which might imply the amiableness of temper and great strength of virtue, but we must look to other motives for his firmness and self command.

His conduct with respect to the fair, is the least pure and amiable part of his character. In youth, when the generous affections commonly prevail, he married Servilia, and loved her tenderly; but when he cast his eye upon power, every thing must yield to ambition; and to secure his political interests, he espoused Claudia the daughter-in-law of M. Antony. During the dissensions which arose between him and Fulvia, when Antony was in Egypt, he repudiated Claudia, and, from political motives, married Scribonia. Her too he divorced; and in the height of his power, he indulged in open profligacy; and coveting Livia, he violently procured her

from Claud. Tiberius Nero her husband.^g

His success carried him further than perhaps he intended at the first; but though young at the death of Julius Cæsar, he displayed a deepness of design which, in no stage of his fortune, ever forsook him. His principal object was aggrandizement, and to this purpose every thought and every action were bent. He began by professing to avenge the death of Cæsar, but his aim was to sit down in the chair of authority, from which his adoptive father had fallen. Then he pretended to rectify the errors and insubordination of the state, but he intended to subdue all things to himself. He stripped Lepidus of his power in the government; and having resolved to ruin Antony, he declared war against his colleague, under the specious pretext of saving Rome from the power of Cleopatra.

^g Dio Cassius, lib. 46 & 48, and Suet. in August. c. 62.

He was well skilled in turning events and contingencies to his own advantage, but he did not possess those splendid qualities which in better days of the republic would have raised him to renown. He spoke with ease and grace, but had not that commanding eloquence which could have deeply impressed a popular assembly. Having been successful in subduing his enemies, we might be led to consider him as an accomplished general; but his triumphs are not to be ascribed to personal courage, for they rather proceeded from the incidents of fortune, the indiscretion of his foes, and the dexterity of his plans. At Philippi he was sick in the hour of trial; from Sicily he fled at the approach of danger; his personal exertions were not conspicuous at Actium; and in general his courage has been called in question.

Whether Augustus was cruel by nature, or whether he sacrificed his feelings to his pursuits, the history of his life does not enable us to determine,

but his conduct was less sanguinary as he approached the summit of his ambition. His munificence to the soldiers after the battle of Philippi was great and conspicuous, but it was mingled with severities of a poignant nature. Many of the people were driven from their paternal situations and favourite abodes, that they might be given as possessions to the veteran soldiers who had unconsciously been forging chains for Rome. The severity and woes of those deprivations are strikingly described by Virgil, who, in strains of poetry, represents a female of the flock, as being compelled, in the hurry and perturbation of removing, to leave her newly yeaned twins on the unhospitable rock, and to travel onwards, in all the sorrows of weakness and disappointment. Cremona, near Mantua, was peculiarly distressed; and the poet himself was deprived of his beloved habitation; but the friendship of Mæcenas permitted him to return and enjoy on his native

farm, the shade and comfort of the broad spreading beech tree.^h

The discernment of Augustus was peculiarly manifest in the choice of agents for carrying his schemes into effect. To Agrippa, who directed the military department, he owed much of his success and glory in the government of Rome; and to Mecænas he was deeply indebted for the wise management of civil affairs. This statesman was elegant in his manners, soothing in his conduct, polished as a scholar, and joined with Augustus in giving encouragement to science and learned men. To Mecænas, Horace was indebted for the friendship of Augustus, for he was previously under his displeasure, as having been the friend of Brutus in his struggle for the republic.ⁱ The praises of Augustus, as a scholar and patron of learning, are celebrated by the masterly pens of Ovid, Virgil, and

^h Virg. Eclog. i. See particularly Martyn's edit.

ⁱ Suet. in Aug.

Horace. Though Augustus, after the subjection of Egypt, shewed himself much disposed to mercy, yet Cæsario, the son of J. Cæsar, was too high in station, and too formidable in his pretensions, to escape the hand of death. Neither Canidius, the principal general of Antony, nor Antillus, his son by Fulvia, could be spared ; but to several of Cleopatra's children he gave unequivocal marks of attention and friendship.* While, in the calm of peace, Augustus was trampling upon the liberties of his country, he exercised many virtues and graces, which were remembered in future days of political evils, and insured him an exalted character among the emperors of Rome.

* Suet. in Cæsar. Aug.

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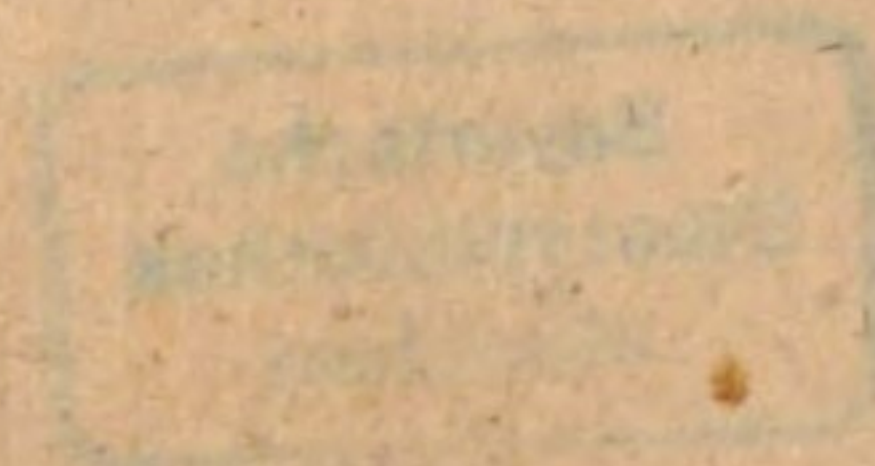
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